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The Miscellaneous section of the Proceedings contains the following 13 papers: "The Language of Public Journalism: An Analysis of the Movement's Appropriation of the Terms Public, Civic, Deliberative Dialogue, and Consensus" (James Engelhardt); "Incorporating Critical Thinking in an Introductory Journalism Course" (Donna Mensing); "Teaching about Teaching: Preparing Doctoral Students for the First Job and Beyond" (Lee Wilkins); "Setting the Media Agenda: A Case Study" (Kyle Huckins); "From Wise to Foolish: The Changing Portrayal of the Sitcom Father from the 1950s to the 1990s" (Erica Scharrer); "Inside the Advertising and Public Relations Internship" (Fred Beard); "Digital Imaging Skills and the Hiring and Training of Photojournalists" (John Russial and Wayne Wanta); "Reflective Practice in Journalism Education" (Rod Allen and Nod Miller); "Freedom for 'My' Speech, But Not for 'Yours': Persistence of Stigma and Gay Liberationists' Urge to Censor in the 1970s" (Elizabeth M. Koehler); "'Healy v. James' and Campus Gay Organizations: Progress of a Movement, 1967-1977" (Elizabeth M. Koehler); "Ability Grouping of Media Writing Students: Closing the Competence Gap in Mechanical Skills" (Stacey Frank Kanihan; Kristie Bunton; Mark Riley Neuzil); "A Model for Effective Learning and Rewarding Teaching in the Journalism, Advertising, and Public Relations Research Classrooms" (Paula M. Poindexter); and "Creating Metaphors for Mass Communication Theory" (Pamela G. Bourland-Davis). Individual papers contain references. (RS)

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The Language of Public Journalism:

An Analysis of the Movement's Appropriation of the Terms Public, Civic, Deliberative Dialogue, and Consensus

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The Language of Public Journalism: An Analysis of the Movement's Appropriation of the Terms Public, Civic, Deliberative Dialogue, and Consensus

This essay applies Stephen Lukes' multidimensional conception of power to the public journalism movement. Particularly, it is concerned with how the language and/or vocabulary of public journalism reveals a particular power dynamic--a dynamic both synonymous and discordant with traditional journalistic practice. This article relies on the work of scholars who have confronted the interrelation between language and power such as V.N. Volosinov, Michel Foucault, Jurgen Habermas, Roger Fowler, and Trinh Minh-ha. The new journalistic movement's use of four terms--public, civic, deliberative dialogue, and consensus--will be addressed, exposing the distinctions between public, civic, and traditional journalism and exemplifying that public journalism consists of more than 'just good journalism.'

An important new philosophy of journalism has emerged in recent years with widespread implications--public journalism. It has sparked heated debate about the press' responsibility to public life and democracy in the United States. However, the debate has essentially remained within the paradigm of traditional journalistic thought. Specifically, arguments for and against public journalism have been more concerned with practice rather than theory. Yet as Jurgen Habermas maintains, theory is necessarily entwined with practice: "Habermas has been concerned systematically to develop . . . a reconstruction of . . . the inseparability of . . . theory and practice" (Held 250). Consequently, the public journalism movement needs to be placed within a larger theoretical and philosophical context in order to properly assess the work it is trying to accomplish. Two theoretical areas that elucidate the philosophy of public journalism are power and language. Thus, by studying public journalism against the backdrop of prevailing thought on power and language, the problems and contradictions inherent in the movement more clearly evince themselves. Such an analysis will waylay many of the predominant criticisms of public journalism, yet necessarily expose the greater philosophical assumptions which public journalists must confront in order to advance their practice.

The issues of language and power contain a particular relevance to public journalism in that a new "rhetoric . . . suffuses the idea" (Rosen 1996, 17). Yet before we analyze the semiotics of public journalism, we must define and summarize the central contentions of the philosophy.

Public Journalism Defined?

As of yet, no comprehensive definition of public journalism exists; however, its two foremost proponents, Jay Rosen and Davis Merritt, provide a conceptual framework that illuminates its ideals. Simply put, "public journalism calls on the press to revive civic life and improve public dialogue--and fashion a coherent response to the deepening troubles in our civic climate" (Rosen 1996, 1). Merritt elaborates that "journalism and public life are inseparably bound in success and failure" (1995a, xvi). It is the press's responsibility to promote the "attention and involvement to conscientious citizens" in public life (Merritt 1995a, xi). Furthermore, public journalism encompasses the realization that journalists are participants ("not just amused bystanders") in public life who have a reciprocal influence in constructing civic identity (Rosen 1996, 2). Consequently, public journalists have the responsibility to be "fair-minded participants" (Merritt 1995a, 94).

To accomplish fair-mindedness, public journalists reject the practice of objectivity in favor of 'connections.' This entails "getting the connections right . . . between news and opinion, between facts and values, between editorial product and the business function, between the press and the political system, between the occupational and spiritual crisis, and particularly between journalism and the public" (Rosen 1996, 81). It is a recognition that traditional journalistic practice produces false separations under the guise of objectivity, obscuring the affinity of the above relationships.

For the most part, public journalism advocates dislike objectivity because it relies on a technocratic philosophy that separates facts from values. To a large extent public journalists distill their arguments about objectivity from questions Michael Schudson initially raised about the separation of facts and values in *Discovering the News*. Schudson comments that objectivity was one of two responses that arose from journalistic anxiety after World War I when journalists realized "facts themselves, or what they had taken to be facts [at this time still linked with values] could not be trusted" (1978, 7). The other response was "the institutionalization . . . of new genres of subjective reporting" (Schudson 1978, 7). Schudson states institutionalized subjective reporting was discarded in favor of objectivity, though remnants of the subjective response survived in the form of political columns. In many regards, public journalism reclaims the practice of institutionalized subjective reporting with its call for the reconnection of facts and values.

The notion of community comprises another major facet of public journalism. Rob Anderson, Robert Dardenne, and George M. Killenberg, in their book *The Conversation of Journalism*, address the issue of community more in depth than Rosen and Merritt. Their central argument revolves around an idea put forth by John Dewey: "there is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication" (qtd. in Anderson et al. 100). Anderson et al. argue that community is created when "people talk to produce . . . meaning, understanding, and direction" (101). To this they add that journalists have "a responsibility to open and maintain lines of communication actively within a diverse, and often fragmented community" (104). If journalists fail to live up to this task, Anderson et al. propose that the "diversity, autonomy, and vigor of our communities" will be replaced by "a centralized, politically powerful national community with its imposed conformity" (99). Thus, public journalists advocate the maintenance of "territorial and associational" community on an intergroup level (Anderson et al. 99).

As a means of community building, public journalists speak of promoting and abetting citizen deliberation (Charity 1995, 57). They also call for the need to raise public consciousness by "working through" and resolving issues as opposed to merely reporting and representing them (Charity 1995, 5; Merritt 1995a, 99-100). This practice will encourage citizen participation and forward the creation of a public agenda (Charity 1995, 5). Furthermore it becomes important to devote space to the community. Merritt speaks of a common place for discussion and dialogue (1995a, 7). And, Arthur Charity, in *Doing Public Journalism,* contends that newspapers need to devote a bigger and more prominent place to citizen concerns (1995, 10). As a result, public journalists typically sponsor community forums as a means of assessing and facilitating consensus (Charity 1995, 128-131).

On the whole, public journalism promotes a rediscovery of democratic ideals (Rosen 1996, 1-2). Indeed, the words and concepts of democracy, deliberation, dialogue, discourse, participation, consensus, and consciousness permeate the literature. However, just as these terms have been misappropriated to classify the 'representative' government of the United States as 'democratic,' public journalism incorrectly adopts the nomenclature of democracy as a means of legitimation without questioning the theoretical assumptions of the terminology.

The Language of Democracy

Democratic language for the purposes of this paper refers to the terms and/or ideas elaborated on by seminal philosophers such as John Dewey and Jurgen Habermas. These authors have amassed large bodies of work discussing the philosophical, political, and sociological implications of deliberative dialogue, consensus, participation, and emancipation.

Public journalism in a very overt manner refers to and relies on the ideas of these theorists. However, it is my contention that public journalism proponents erroneously adopt such language with an incomplete understanding of its implications. That is, public journalism fetishizes the ideals of these various philosophers through fallacious appeals to authority, resulting in a reductionist discussion that misrepresents their arguments, and thus the relation of journalism to democracy.

Power

Before discussing the appropriation of democratic language, it is necessary to provide a theoretical grounding or model in which the language of public journalism can be analyzed. Stephen Lukes' multi-dimensional theory of power provides an appropriate framework. In *Power: A Radical View*, Lukes delineates three dimensions of power. He commences with an overview of the one-dimensional or "'pluralist' view of power," which maintains that "the locus of power is determined by seeing who prevails in cases of *decision-making* where there is *observable* conflict" (Lukes 11). In terms of political participation, a one-dimensional view is only concerned with studying actual behavior in the form of discernible conflict (Lukes 14). In addition, "language is viewed [solely] as an instrument of information transmission" (Bybee and Hacker 58).

A two-dimensional view of power "involves examining both decision-making and non-decision-making" (Lukes 18). It includes the recognition that "some issues are organized into politics while others are organized out" (Lukes 16). For Lukes, nondecision-making is "'a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges . . . can be suffocated . . . kept covert . . . or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena" (19). Consequently, the second dimension of power recognizes that "'a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures . . . operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups'"(Lukes 17). Lukes refers to this idea as 'mobilization of bias.' Nonetheless, Lukes alleges that the one- and two-dimensional notions of power are both behaviorist. Even though two-dimensional power focuses on nondecision-making, it only stresses "actual *observable* conflict, overt or covert" (Lukes 19). Notably, if no conflict can be observed, the presumption is that there must be "'consensus on the prevailing allocation of values'" (Lukes 19). Continually, language becomes a "manipulative tool for fighting specific political battles" (Bybee and Hacker 59).

The third dimension of power "involves a thoroughgoing critique of the behavioral focus of the first two" (Lukes 24). It is concerned with "the ways in which *potential* issues are kept out of politics . . . through the operation of social forces . . . in the absence of actual, observable conflict" (Lukes 24). Thus, three-dimensional power focuses on "a) decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions), b) issues and potential issues, c) observable (overt or covert) and latent [potential] conflict, [and] d) subjective and real interests" (Lukes 25). Language in the third dimension is seen as a "system of meaning production" in which power is subtly exerted through "*structures* of distorted and controlled dialogue" (Bybee and Hacker 59).

"Public" Journalism

Delving into an investigation of the vocabulary of public journalism, we ironically begin with an analysis of the term 'public.' Why have proponents of this new journalistic practice cathected it to the term 'public?' Notably, answering this question addresses criticisms that public journalism is nothing more than good journalism (Fallows 1996, Schneider 1992).

In order to tackle this question, the concept of 'refeudalization' in relation to Habermas' notion of the public sphere needs to be understood. Habermas argues that 'refeudalization' occurs when political agencies and organizations (e.g., interest groups) usurp the role of the individual in the public sphere (1989, 236). For Habermas, this means that a "public sphere of *individual* private citizens" has been replaced by a "public sphere of *organized* private citizens" (1989, 236). Consequently, Habermas notes that a 'refeudalized' public sphere results in the legitimization of the dominant society's convictions and prejudices by "procuring plebiscitary approval from a mediatized public by means of a display of staged and manipulated publicity" (1994, 232).

In a less theoretical fashion, Mike Hoyt, in "Are You Now, Or Will You Ever Be, A Civic Journalist?," provides an excellent example of how a sponsored community meeting results in the 'procurement of plebiscitary approval' as a means of 'legitimizing dominant society's convictions.' Hoyt describes a public journalism-sponsored community meeting between police and Korean community leaders. He notes that the meeting was rife with "verbal sparring" and "tit-for-tat arguing" in which no agreement or satisfaction was achieved by either group (Hoyt 27). Yet, the article that was published by the newspaper sponsoring the event described the meeting as "a celebration of diversity," and the complaints vocalized by Koreans were neglected (Hoyt 27). Thus, the forum and subsequent article culminated in the validation of the dominant power structure through a manipulation of public approval.

Public journalism advocates would contest that the above example illustrates an abuse of their philosophy; thus, it should not be labeled as public journalism. They proclaim that their goal is to report on and stimulate a public agenda rather than a media agenda. Yet, this argument quickly collapses into circular reasoning. As Charity points out in *Doing Public Journalism*, hearing the public agenda means "letting citizens identify issues for themselves" (1995, 24). However, it has long been established through agenda-setting research that the media are influential in dictating what the public thinks *about*. Citizens are already operating within a framework in which the press largely influences what issues are salient. The public does not and cannot form its agenda in a vacuum, free from media coercion, as public journalists assume. And, by reporting back the public agenda to the people, the journalistic dictate of brevity reduces citizens' concerns to shorthand catchphrases such as 'the economy,' 'the environment,' or 'crime.' Thus, public journalists tell the public what to think about by relying on the public to tell them what to tell the public to think about.

However, the mutual reliance and appropriation of meaning between the public and the press, besides being unavoidable, may be advantageous. Trinh Minh-ha in *Woman/Native/Other* argues that an author and reader/audience construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct each other over and over again: "A writing for the people, by the people, and from the people is literally a multipolar reflecting reflection that remains free from both conditions of subjectivity and objectivity and yet reveals both. I write to show myself showing people who show me my own showing" (22). The relationship between the press and the public can be viewed in much the same way. However, Minh-ha, unlike public journalists, realizes that the author/writer at some point betrays the reader/public: "Thus the notion of 'art of the masses' supposes not only a split between the artist and her/his audience--the spectator-consumer--but also a passivity on the part of the latter" (13). Consequently, "such a definition naturally places the committed writers on the side of Power" (Minh-ha 11).

Therefore, public journalists correctly appreciate the interrelation of the press and the public in setting agendas and creating meaning. They, likewise, recognize that *language is power*, thus, they allow citizens to voice their concerns. However, they fail to realize that *power is language*. That is, they neglect to perceive the dynamics of power built into writing and publishing. They deny their betrayal and reification of the public meaning--a power relation that Minh-ha maintains is built into the process of writing.

Michel Foucault's notion of power/knowledge clarifies the distinction between *language is power* and *power is language*. Since knowledge and language are congruent (language is the medium of knowledge), power/knowledge becomes power/language. David Hoy elaborates on the idea of power/knowledge:

> For . . . Foucault the 'is' connecting knowledge [language] and power does not indicate that the relation of knowledge and power is one of prediction such that knowledge leads to power. Rather, the relation is such that knowledge is not gained prior to and independently of the use to which it will be put in order to achieve power (129).

In other words, public journalism holds that knowledge is power in the sense that knowledge (language) leads to power. Yet, it neglects Foucault's contention that knowledge (language) necessarily constitutes a manifestation of underlying power relations.

As a result, public journalists come up against the conundrum that plagues Lukes. In his discussion of rational persuasion, Lukes posits two responses to the possibility that "A's preferences are in B's real interests": "(1) that A might exercise 'short term power' over B" until B recognizes her/his real interest; or (2) attempts for "control by A over B, when B objects or resists, constitutes a violation of B's autonomy; . . . so that such an exercise of power cannot be in B's real interests" (33). The first option provides "a paternalistic license for tyranny," while the second collapses "all or most cases of influence into power" (Lukes 33). This conundrum reveals a two-dimensional view which perceives "power as exercised by (individual or institutional) agents" (Hoy 127).

Indeed, public journalists conceive of language as a 'tool for fighting specific political battles' in that language is power, but not vice-versa. Furthermore, public journalism clearly emphasizes nondecision-making by attempting to expand "inquiry beyond the usual 'experts' and sources" (Beaudry 26), exposing that which is kept covert. However, if no observable conflict exist, the philosophy of public journalism promulgates the 'consensus on the prevailing allocation of values.' Clearly, public journalism exhibits a two-dimensional notion of power. It fails to transcend into the third dimension of power that Lukes advocates. To do so, public journalists would need to incorporate the ideas of power and language evinced by Minh-ha and Foucault.

It is also important to note that public journalism clearly attaches itself to the conception of 'public' elaborated on by Dewey. By discussing the debate between Walter Lippmann and Dewey in the 1920's, James Fallows and Jay Rosen both emphasize that public journalism returns to a more optimistic assessment of the public. Lippmann and Dewey had competing notions of the press' responsibility to the public. Dewey contended that journalism had a responsibility to figure out how to engage the public (Fallows 237). While on the contrary, Lippmann believed an informed and engaged public was more or less an illusion; therefore, it was fallacious to assume that the press could make up for a disinfected citizenry (Merritt and Rosen, 17). Fallows notes in *Breaking the News* that until recently Lippmann's ideas dominated journalistic practice: "Today's journalistic establishment has tried harder to meet Lippmann's challenges . . . than it has to accommodates Dewey's" (240). With the emergence of public journalism, Dewey's philosophy regarding the public and the press takes the foreground. His confidence in the public involves a faith in a spiritual element of community.

For Dewey, a public involves an associational element in which humans are connected through a higher spiritual purpose (151).

Public journalists pick up on the idea of a spiritually charged public, which has lead some critics to equate public journalism with evangelicalism. However, Fallows and Rosen discount a central contention of Dewey's: "no amount of aggregated collective action of itself constitutes a community. . . . participation activities and sharing in results are additive concerns" (Dewey 151-152). In other words, Dewey holds that an associational,public spirit must precede participation and dialogue. Collective action and participation do not lead to a public spirit, rather they are its products. Thus, Fallows and Rosen incorrectly assert that a public spirit can be fostered through participation in public dialogue. According to Dewey, they approach the problem from the wrong direction.

This leads us to ponder whether or not a public spirit exists. In addressing this issue, Dewey posits that some public spirit must always exist: "Popular government has a least created public spirit even if its success in informing that spirit has not been great" (207). This idea echoes the earlier discussion of Habermas' notion of 'publicity' in a 'refeudalized' public sphere in which citizens are reified into consumers.

In the end, we come full circle to the aforementioned critique of public journalism, realizing that with its two-dimensional conception of power, public journalism fails to eclipse the confines of a 'refeudalized' public sphere. Public journalism theorists too hastily attach their ideas to the term 'public,' hoping to cathect their movement to the 'spirituality' the term evokes. As a result, they neglect to consider the ramifications and implications of such an association, ironically degrading their movement by reducing and oversimplifying the *meaning* of 'public.'

"Civic" Journalism

As of yet, no distinction has been made between public journalism and its supposedly synonymous counterpart--civic journalism. Perhaps the equation of the two occurred as a means of solidarity during the initial inception of the new journalistic practice. Nevertheless, an analysis of language and power clearly demonstrates the difference between these two manifestations.

From a theoretical standpoint, civic journalism defines itself congruently with public journalism: "civic, or public journalism" (Fouhy and Schaffer 18). However, a clear distinction exists in practice. Civic journalism is typically more scientific. It relies on focus groups, not forums (Fouhy and Schaffer 16). As well, it favors surveys, polls, experiments, and other quantitative methods: "in this experiment . . . a demographically-selected sample [came] together over a weekend on a university campus" (Fouhy 1995). In fact, Ed Fouhy, the creator of the term civic journalism, is the Executive Director of the Pew Center for Civic Journalism, an ancillary of Pew Charitable Trusts. The Pew Research Center's established reputation as a leader in media survey research attests to the scientific focus of civic journalism.

Even more interesting, civic journalism proclaims that "it is above all else not an abandoning of the journalistic practice of objectivity" (Fouhy 1996). This view is in opposition to Rosen's refutation of objectivity by public journalists: "journalism is the last refuge of objectivity as an epistemology . . . not even in the hard sciences do they really see the pursuit of truth in this way" (1993, 49). As a consequence many critics are befuddled when proponents state that "public/civic journalism had never decried traditional objectivity," calling such statements "a fascinating rewrite of history" (Dennis 1996b). For that reason, the previous solidarity between public and civic journalism hinders both perspectives.

Applying Lukes' dimensions of power, the interrelatedness and disparity between public and civic journalism becomes apparent. Lukes provides a way to expose these differences while highlighting their continuity. Whereas public journalism exhibits qualities of two-dimensional power, civic journalism leans toward a one-dimensional view. Notably, it favors the pluralist methodology which Lukes maintains is best summed up by Richard Merelman: "'[they study] actual behavior, [stress] operational definitions, and [turn] up evidence. Most important, it [seems] to produce reliable conclusions which meet the canons of science'" (12).

By relying on surveys, opinion polls, and focus groups, civic journalists relegate their observations to overt behavior. Interestingly, they do try to include a covert factor by polling voters as well as nonvoters. This has the effect of expanding an investigation of decision-making into nondecision-making by observing covert, political non-participation. Thus, civic journalism inclines toward a two-dimensional view of power.

However, civic journalism falters because its positivistic methodology frames "issues in selected [key] issue areas--the assumption again being that such issues are controversial and involve actual conflict" (Lukes 13). For example, civic journalists conducting focus groups impose a structure with a preordained set of discussion issues with which they *facilitate* deliberation. Public journalists, on the other hand, advocate and*participate* in more open forums less concerned with addressing specific issues. Granted, public journalists still frame issues by sponsoring and reporting on public forums, but my contention here is that civic journalism imposes more control by relying primarily on scientific techniques while failing to consider the bias inherent in the methodology.

Overall, civic journalism waivers on the border between a one- and two-dimensional notion of power while public journalism is more firmly entrenched in the second dimension. In this way, civic journalism becomes a transitional phase between traditional journalistic practice (unavoidably one-dimensional) and public journalism.

Deliberative Dialogue

Moving to a more direct consideration of democratic language, the two most prominent terms public journalism adopts are deliberative dialogue and consensus. Since public journalists hold that deliberation is a necessary condition for consensus, an investigation of the former will eventuate in a discussion of the latter.

Charity begins his consideration of deliberative dialogue by outlining how it differs from debate: "Dialogue is collaborative: two or more sides work together to achieve common understanding. Debate is opposition: two sides oppose each other and attempt to prove each other wrong. In dialogue, finding common ground is the goal. In debate, winning is the goal" (1995, 103). Merritt adds that deliberation is distinct from the more generic term--discussion--in that "deliberation occurs and leads to potential solution" (1995a, 113). Indeed, deliberation is so central for Rosen that he speaks of the need for a deliberative democracy rather than a representative democracy (1996, 17). It is not enough to have interests represented, people must also "reflect on the choices they face" (Rosen 1996, 54). In many ways this concept echoes Habermas' call for rational-critical discussion/reflection. But unlike public journalists, who adhere to Daniel Yankelovich's requirement that "dialogue must be free from domination and distortion" (216), many scholars realize that even in "relatively egalitarian societies . . . deliberative processes [are] tainted by the effects of dominance and subordination" (Fraser 131). Moreover, Habermas notes the commodification of deliberation: "Discussion, now a 'business,' becomes formalized: The presentation of positions and counterpositions is bound by certain prearranged rules" (1994, 164). The business side of journalism attests to the commoditization of dialogue. Interestingly, the fact that large newspaper chains such as Gannett and Knight-Ridder are the forerunners of public journalism indicates the corporate co-optation of dialogue.

Yet, this is not to say that deliberation is futile. Nor is it to posit that public journalism's promotion of deliberation is useless or worse than traditional journalism. On the contrary, public journalism promotes more emancipatory dialogue than traditional journalism. However, it still constrains dialogue and reinforces the dominant power structure.

V.N. Volosinov's argument in *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* illustrates the way public journalism's promotion of dialogue results in the misappropriation of divergent ideologies or meaning structures into the dominant paradigm. For Volosinov the problem of dialogue is tied to the problem of language (Matejka and Titunik 4). Volosinov argues that language arises *between* individuals within a social context: "Every sign, as we know, is constructed *between* socially organized persons in the process of their interaction . Therefore, the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organization of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of the interaction" (21). From this interaction, language becomes multi-accentuated, taking on an infinitude of possible meanings and interpretations (Volosinov 22). Thus, language in itself does not negate: "there is surely nothing inherent in any given word or phrase that can always and forever be constructed as [repressive]" (Moi 157). However, a hierarchical factor privileges certain accents (meanings) over others: "the dominant power group at any given time will dominate the intertextual production of meaning" (Moi 158). Thus, Volosinov reasons that from a multitude of possible meanings, only the ones given social recognition by the dominant ideology become visible: "all ideological accents are social accents, ones with claim to social recognition and, only thanks to that recognition, are made outward use of in ideological material" (22). Without recognition, accents and ideologies "inevitably [lose] force, degenerating into allegory and becoming the object not of social intelligibility but of philological comprehension" (Volosinov 23). Furthermore, Volosinov alleges that the "inner dialectic quality of the sign [repressed, degenerated, socially unintelligible accents] comes out fully in the open only in times of social crises and revolutionary changes" (23). In the absence of crisis the ruling class imparts an eternal character to the sign, "extinguishing or driving inward the struggle between social value judgments," making the sign uniaccentual--i.e., favoring the dominant power structure (Volosinov 23).

It may be maintained that public journalism allows for the social recognition of meanings and accents 'beyond the pale.' And indeed, if we are now in a time of crisis as public life degrades (Merritt 1995a, 3), public journalism postures as a means of giving voice to the 'inner dialectic quality of the sign.' However, this ignores Volosinov's contention that in times of crisis the "dominant ideology is always somewhat reactionary and tries, as it were, to stabilize the preceding factor [crisis] in the dialectical flux of the social generative process, so accentuating yesterday's truth as to make it appear today's" (24). Thus, it may also be maintained that public journalism exemplifies the dominant ideology's reaction to crises through its social recognition of more marginalized degenerated ideologies--a recognition that results in the expansion of the dominant society's pervasiveness and power.

In approaching this dilemma, an investigation of the headline that announced the *Charlotte Observer*'s intention to practice public journalism proves to be rather revealing. The headline reads, "We Help You Regain Control of the Issues" (Rosen 1996, 43). First, the statement reveals that people are not in control and that 'we' (presumably the people with power) have a vested interest in *giving* power to the people. The word 'regain' also assumes that at one point in time people had control. Furthermore, the construction of the sentence reveals a specific power dynamic. A critical linguistic method of analysis, pace Roger Fowler in *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, illustrates that 'we' is in power by the active verb 'help.' 'You,' the public, becomes the passive agent that receives control. In Volosinov's terms, the sentence sets up a power dynamic in which the dominant power structure gives social recognition to repressed or degenerated accents in an attempt to re-stabilize the dialectic flux, thus maintaining and upholding a prevailing liberal pluralistic social order.

Applying Lukes, social recognition implies a two-dimensional conception of power where public journalists contend that they are observing the covert conflict. Lukes argues that social recognition of marginalized ideologies by the dominant serves to "assimilate all cases of exclusion of potential issues from the political agenda to the paradigm of decisions, [giving] a misleading picture of the ways in which individuals and, above all, groups and institutions succeed in excluding potential issues from the political process" (21). Thus, by giving voice to excluded accents, public journalists co-opt these ideologies into the sphere of influence of the dominant ideology. This places the ruling class in a better position to exercise power over individuals by "influencing, shaping, and determining [their] very wants" (Lukes 23). Lukes notes that controlling wants and desires constitutes "the most effective and insidious use of power" by preventing conflict from even arising in the first place (23). Therefore, it is an easy step to see that public journalism brings dissenting opinion under the control of the ruling ideology in order to prevent future conflict and questioning of the power structure.

The above discussion is not intended to establish that public journalism intentionally reinforces the power structure. On the contrary, this all occurs unconsciously through language. But, at the same time, I do not mean to degrade the importance of the preceding observations. My intention is to promote that public journalists become aware of the power dynamics involved in their use of language. They must realize that deliberation can never be free of 'domination and distortion' as Yankelovich fallaciously asserts. Beyond providing social recognition, public journalists must make it a task to "render visible the ways in which social inequality taints deliberation" (Fraser 137). Only when this happens will public journalism progress toward a three-dimensional recognition of power.

Consensus

The concept of consensus is ensnared in the problems of deliberation. Consequently many of the above arguments also apply to consensus. Interestingly, an investigation of public journalism's utilization of consensus solidifies the preceding criticism.

The problem of consensus proves particularly interesting in light of Fowler's observation that "the ideology of consensus is crucial to the practice of the press's management and relationship with government and capital, on the one hand, and with its individual reader, on the other (49). Furthermore, Fowler continues that newspapers have a vested interest in sustaining the illusion of consensus in order "to relate to a population which . . . in general terms accepts the rightness of the status quo (so people will not wish to disrupt the existing order)" (48).

Merritt points out that the rise of public journalism is very much a reaction to citizens' grievances that newspapers are becoming "a false construct of extremes designed by politicians and perpetuated by journalists" (1995a, 3). In other words, people are beginning to distrust the press, realizing that it creates and propagates an illusion of consensus. Public journalism then becomes an attempt by journalists to locate and report on a 'real' consensus. Interestingly, public journalists rename the idea of consensus, recognizing that the public is skeptical of the term. Merritt calls it consent (1995a, 104). Charity renames it the public voice and/or a "new ledge to stand on" (1995, 128). However, these new terms are only differentiated from consensus in that they involve public agreement on how to disagree (Merritt 1995a, 103; Charity 1995, 129). In essence, Merritt and Charity simply concede to the fundamental contradiction of consensus that Fowler delineates: "if, as the theory claims, everyone accepts [a] list of positive values, how is it that the negatives exist?" (Fowler 52). As well, Fowler views the concession "we agree to differ" as merely an apologetic strategy meant to legitimate a belief in consensus (52). Thus, public journalists still rely on the assumption that some transcendental notion of consensus exists. They fail to view consensus within a context of social, political, and economic origins. As a result, public journalism merely reworks the traditional journalistic reliance on the ideology of consensus.

Fowler's analysis of consensus more clearly illustrates this concept. He submits that traditional journalism depends on an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy for consensus. Consequently, it favors "stories which exemplify the negative attitudes and behaviors [e.g., murder, fraud, riot, and natural disasters] thought to be characteristic of 'them'" (Fowler 53), attempting to promote consensus by showing and ostracizing deviance. Public journalism also adheres to an 'us' and 'them' distinction. But instead of reporting on 'them,' public journalists report on the positive values of 'us.' (Charity 1995, 71). In this regard, it still promotes consensus by reporting on what Fowler terms 'legitimating values' in stead of 'illegitimate values.' Public journalism becomes nothing more than a new practical manifestation of an existing ideology.

Fowler also notes that newspapers rely on an informal, familiar, and friendly style of conversational writing as a means of "closing a 'discursive gap' between newspapers and their institutional sources . . . and their reader" (57). Continually, he notes that "the ideological function of conversation is to naturalize the terms in which reality is represented and the categories those terms represent" (Fowler 57). Strikingly, public journalism takes on even more of a conversational element: "*The Conversation of Journalism* argues that interacting with the people . . . is part of the work of journalists and that when they stimulate public conversation about the news, they are working" (Anderson et al. xxv). Thus, public journalism tries to further close the 'discursive gap,' fallaciously attempting to achieve "a sense of 'neutral' language embodying 'normal' values" (Fowler 47). Notably, this argument echoes the previous discussion of deliberative dialogue. Again, public journalists need to realize that language cannot be neutral, just as they correctly contend that news cannot be objective.

Once more we see that public journalism is relegated to the second dimension of power. Likewise, Lukes' critique of consensus within a two-dimensional framework holds true for public journalism:

> If the observer can uncover no grievances, then he must assume there is a 'genuine' consensus on the prevailing allocation of values. To put this another way, it is here assumed that if men feel no grievances, then they have no interests that are harmed by the use of power. But this is highly unsatisfactory. In the first place, what, in any case is a grievance? . . . Second, and more important is it not the most supreme and insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions, and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial? To assume that the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus is simply to rule out the possibility of false or manipulated consensus by definitional fiat (24).

Indeed, it becomes quite clear that public journalism is attempting to eliminate the possibility of false or manipulated consensus by calling it consent and/or public voice. In both cases the outcome "may be just short of unanimous" (Charity 1995, 129). However, as Lukes points out, this is mere 'definitional fiat' that preserves the current power dynamic. Ironically, by proclaiming consensus even though outcomes may not be unanimous, public journalists revert to a one-dimensional notion of power, rendering unobservable grievances and conflicts that they sought to expose.

Overall, public journalism faces even greater problems through its attachment to the ideology of consensus than through its appropriation of deliberative dialogue. Public journalism may constitute a creative approach to the crisis of public life, but it is still "a necessary linguistic virtuosity . . . framed by the institutional forces newspapers serve" (Fowler

47). And, similar to deliberation, public journalism's reliance on consensus "in times of crisis actually affirms, that within the group, there is no difference or disunity in the interests and values of any of the population, or any institution" (Fowler 49). Consensus becomes false consensus in order to maintain the status quo.

Public Journalism Reconsidered

Most of the criticisms of public journalism provided here illustrate the complexity of the issues that it brings to the forefront. For bringing these into the consciousness of the press and the public, advocates of public journalism should be commended. They are rightly questioning traditional journalistic practices of objectivity and detachment. Furthermore, public journalists should be applauded for observing covert conflict in political decisions that ignore the citizenry. Without listening to the people and making their concerns a matter of debate, journalism would have no hope of escaping one-dimensional power.

Ultimately, however, public journalism does not 'progress' far enough. It questions the assumptions of traditional journalism but falters when it comes to questioning deeper philosophical assumptions of liberal pluralistic thought. This prevents public journalism from approaching a three-dimensional notion of power. But importantly, a lack of critique by public journalists of the dominant journalistic conventions would obstruct the attainment of three-dimensional insights into power.

Civic journalism is even less progressive than public journalism as evidenced by its qualified critique of traditional journalism. It still subscribes to a belief in the primacy of scientific method, and it panders to criticisms that decry civic journalism as nonobjective. But, because it is less critical, civic journalism plays an important role in delivering traditional practitioners of journalism to a point of entry into a second dimension of power.

Many suggestions have already been made for how public journalism can come closer to 3-D power. First, public journalism needs to realize that *power is language* and *language is* *power* in accordance with Foucault's power/knowledge. Second, this realization would necessitate that public journalism "render visible the ways in which social inequality taints deliberation" (Fraser 137) and language. Third, public journalism must allow people to assemble and unite freely in order to form public spheres--a central requirement in Habermas' treatise on the public sphere. Citizens must autonomously create their own space for discourse without the aid of journalism. In providing a space by sponsoring forums, public journalists unavoidably impose a structure or frame upon citizens, constraining valuable participation. Instead of attempting to foster a public sphere, public journalism should function as a tool of the public sphere. But, this is not to say that public journalists should withdraw from public life--such action regresses into a one-dimensional notion of power. Public journalists should see themselves as active participants but not facilitators and mediators.

Lastly, public journalism needs to realize, as Foucault argues, that 'progress' is not linear:

> I don't say that humanity does not progress. I say it is a bad method to pose the problem as: 'How is it that we have progressed?' The problem is: how do things happen? And what happens now is not necessarily better or more advanced, or better understood, than what happened in the past (qtd. in Hoy 138).

The point to be made here is that a third dimension of power involves the recognition that language, meanings, and ideologies are always in motion. To presume that transcendence into a third dimension of power eventuates in a fixed end point--an assumption embedded in liberal pluralistic notions of progress (Hoy 139)--foreshadows a return to one-dimensional power where one dominant ideology simply replaces another. In order to avoid this, public journalism should continually challenge and expose the power structure(s) embedded in language and deliberation. To do so will involve a deep understanding of history and context. Public journalists have to be involved in a continual *process* of questioning; they must not only query the way others use language but also their own linguistic usage. Only then will public journalism be able to achieve and sustain a three-dimensional conception of power.

All told, it should be noted that a deep socio-structural change would have to occur for public journalism to fully realize the third dimension of power. The press is but one player in society. And as Rosen so aptly sums up "this is a challenge to American Culture, not just the culture of the press" (1996, 84).

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ABSTRACT

Teaching critical thinking is recognized as an important objective in education. This paper includes a brief description of the rationale for stressing critical thinking in journalism education, a review of some of the many definitions of critical thinking, and a recommendation as to what definition(s) might be most useful for a journalism school. Concepts useful for incorporating critical thinking in the classroom are described, as well as objectives for a newly revised Journalism 101 course. Results of a pre- and post-assessment test are analyzed, showing that students who completed the course in fall, 1996, wrote longer essays and used more examples in their writing at the end of the course as compared with their responses at the beginning of the course. Additional research is recommended for improving assessment of critical thinking and for coordinating the teaching of these skills across the curriculum.

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Incorporating Critical Thinking in an Introductory Journalism Course

The ability to think critically is highly valued in both academic and professional organizations. Educators in a wide range of disciplines -- from physics to nursing -- agree that teaching students how to think more clearly, critically and creatively is a vital educational goal. This is just as true in journalism education, with several journalism schools incorporating the goal of critical thinking in their mission statements. At the University of Nevada, Reno, for example, the school's mission statement reads:

> *The mission of the Reynolds School of Journalism is to teach its students to think critically and to apply that thinking to the collection, organization and communication of information through the public media.*

A recent article in Journalism and Mass Communication Educator (Runinski, 1995) described a survey of journalism professors that found 79 percent of the respondents offered instruction in critical thinking, with 89 percent integrating this instruction in the subject matter of communication courses. While most survey respondents believed that they were teaching critical thinking, the authors found that few did it in a systematic or well-defined way and few could provide in-depth definitions of critical thinking. Most defined critical thinking primarily in terms of analysis of information. The authors of the study concluded that "journalism and mass communication educators seem to lack a coherent, comprehensive concept of critical thinking." (Runinski, p. 10) They recommended that critical thinking be taught explicitly and that it be based on a concept of critical thinking that is comprehensive and measurable.

The purpose of this paper is to begin the task of defining critical thinking as it relates to journalism education and to develop recommendations for making critical thinking instruction explicit in an introductory journalism course. To accomplish this, the paper includes a brief description of the rationale for stressing critical thinking in journalism education, a review of some of the many definitions of critical thinking, and a recommendation as to what definition(s) might be most useful for a journalism school. Drawing on a series of critical thinking workshops led by Dr. Meggin Mcintosh from the School of Education at the University of Nevada, Reno, a short description of a newly revised Journalism 101 course is presented. The final section includes results of an assessment of the critical thinking skills of students who completed the course in fall, 1996.

Why emphasize critical thinking in journalism?

Compelling arguments are made by many to show why individuals in a democratic society should be able to reason critically and creatively. But even within this context, critical thinking skills are of particular importance to journalists for a number of reasons. First, the job description a journalist requires the ability to:

- identify, describe and analyze complex issues facing a community, subject or client
- identify multiple viewpoints and examine evidence for each
- ask penetrating questions of the right sources in the right order
- discern meanings and contradictions of diverse arguments and statements
- prioritize large volumes of often unrelated material
- organize information in a logical, fair and meaningful way
- communicate (in written, oral and graphic forms) in clear, interesting style with complete accuracy
- defend the selection and presentation of material
- work in a timely manner under deadline

This list defines both good journalism and good critical thinking. Richard Paul writes fair-minded critical thinkers "exhibit clarity, precision, specificity, accuracy, relevance, consistency, logicalness, depth, completeness, significance, and fairness in their thinking processes." This also defines a successful journalist. Paul goes on to say "uncritical thinkers' thought processes are egocentric, careless and conditioned by unexamined prejudices and irrational impressions" (Paul, 1993). Uncritical thinkers make poor journalists -- and poor readers and viewers.

In addition to the fact that good journalism requires well-honed thinking abilities, these skills are also important in an environment where old certainties are disappearing and rapid change characterizes most of the landscape. Today's journalism students must prepare for a future that may be very unlike the past. In this circumstance, the flexibility, fluidity, clarity and creativity characterized by critical thinking are particularly valuable. These points are increasingly being recognized by journalism professionals, who have begun to recognize the value of new employees capable of thinking clearly and critically. Tim McGuire, executive editor of Star Tribune in Minneapolis, has called the teaching of critical thinking a "killer issue." In response to a question about the importance of critical thinking, he recently wrote:

> Critical thinking skills are more basic and essential [than learning AP style.] Such skills will never leave you and are essential to problem solving in a knowledge economy. Seeing patterns, developing the right questions and entertaining the improbable are great skills which must be studied, learned and practiced. it is very hard to learn such skills in a newsroom. The other important thing is those skills are never going to be mastered so the earlier we develop them the longer we have to practice them on our journey. (E-mail from Tim McGuire, 2/17/97)

Finally, journalism students in college are not only studying a discipline that requires critical thinking, they are going through developmental stages in cognitive understanding that bring many of these issues to the surface:

> "Research on [a model of teaching reasoning] suggests that college students are wrestling with issues of certainty and uncertainty, and that they are struggling to find methods for resolving perplexity when they must make and defend judgments. Students need to learn the skills that allow them to make judgments in light of that uncertainty: how to think about the relationship between evidence and a point of view, how to evaluate evidence on different sides of issues, how to conceive of objectivity or impartiality, and how to construct judgments in the face of complexity and uncertainty." (King, 1994)

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Definitions of critical thinking

It is easier to agree on the value of critical thinking than it is to define it. The Runinski article cited above recommended adoption of the critical thinking definition developed by the American Philosophical Association which characterizes critical thinking as "purposeful, self-regulated judgment which results in interpretation, analysis, evaluation and inference, as well as explanation of the evidential, conceptual, methodological, criterialogical, or contextual considerations upon which that judgment is based..." (APA, 1990).

Other definitions of critical thinking include:

"Critical thinking is skillful, responsible thinking that facilitates good judgment because it (1) relies upon criteria, (2) is self-correcting, and (3) is sensitive to context" (Lipman 1988, in King 1994, p. 8).

"Critical thinking appears to stress the individual's ability to interpret, evaluate, and make informed judgments about the adequacy of arguments, data and conclusions (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991, in King 1994, p. 83) .

Elder and Paul define critical thinking as "not simply a way of thinking, but a way of being." They write:

> Critical thinking is best understood as the ability of thinkers to take charge of their own thinking. This requires that they develop sound criteria and standards for analyzing and assessing their own thinking and routinely use those criteria and standards to improve its quality. Critical thinking, therefore, requires a high degree of continual self-reflection and intellectual discipline. Furthermore, as the standards and discipline of critical thinking become internalized, persons who think critically necessarily develop intellectually and affectively based traits (intellectual autonomy, intellectual civility, intellectual humility, intellectual integrity, intellectual perseverance, etc.) (Elder and Paul, 1994)

Watson and Glaser view critical thinking as composed of three elements: (1) attitudes of inquiry that involve an ability to recognize the existence of problems and an acceptance of the general need for evidence in support of what is asserted to be true; (2) knowledge of the nature of valid inferences, abstractions, and generalizations in which the weight or accuracy of different kinds of evidence are logically determined; and (3) skills in employing and applying the above attitudes and knowledge." (Watson and Glaser, 1964, in King 1994, p. 83).

Ennis defines critical thinking as "reasonable, reflective thinking that is focused on deciding what to believe or do." (Ennis 1987, in King 1994, p. 87).

Some definitions focus on inductive and deductive logic skills. Others define critical thinking as a process of inquiry or problem solving. Many educators seem to assume that critical thinking is a set of skills used to solve problems, and that learning those skills or principles will lead to critical thinking (King 1994, p. 9). Still others define critical thinking more in terms of behavior and attitudes. Facione, for example, has devised seven scales that measure the disposition to think critically: inquisitiveness, open-mindedness, systematicness, analyticity, truth seeking, critical thinking self-confidence and maturity (Facione, 1994).

King and Kitchener argue that educators cannot ignore the assumptions students make about knowledge if they want to help their students be reflective thinkers:

> "As individuals develop, they become better able to evaluate knowledge claims and to explain and defend their points of view on controversial issues. The ability to make reflective judgments is the ultimate outcome of this progression." (King 1994, p. 13)

Edward deBono maintains that critical thinking is valuable, but inadequate without a complimentary ability to think creatively. Creative, constructive thinking is also sorely needed to produce the hypotheses, ideas and visions necessary for individuals and societies to move forward (deBono 1994, p. 7-8). Ideally, students should be given the encouragement, freedom and tools to think creatively and independently and to critically analyze the results of their creativity.

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Journalism education generally stresses the practice of critical thinking cognitive skills, such as those defined by Facione (analysis, interpretation, inference, explanation, evaluation and self-regulation) and the practice of critical thinking behavior (inquisitiveness, open-mindedness, systematicness, analyticity, truth seeking, critical thinking self-confidence and maturity). There is also broad support for deBono's point that creativity is an important facet of teaching and learning that must be included in any well-rounded curriculum that stresses thinking.

A summary of the objectives of teaching critical thinking in a journalism school could be:

> To teach students to be conscious of, monitor and assess their own thinking; to facilitate the ability to analyze, interpret, explain, evaluate and self-regulate; to foster creativity, fluidity and flexibility; and to encourage attitudes and behaviors which promote fair-minded critical thinking, such as inquisitiveness, open-mindedness and truth seeking.

Teaching critical thinking

Teaching critical thinking often involves a new approach to classroom activity. Elder and Paul write: "One learns critical thinking by *doing* critical thinking. One learns how to facilitate others' critical thinking in any given subject or discipline by thinking critically about how critical thinking is manifested in that subject" (Elder and Paul, 1994). The literature seems clear that it is difficult to teach these concepts solely from a traditional lecture format. Instead, the process of how the subject is taught and learned becomes of paramount importance. The content provides context and subject; the process of how the content is taught and learned is what distinguishes much of the critical thinking aspect of a course.

King and Kitchener include a chapter in their book on "Fostering Reflective Judgment in the College Years," (1994). They write:

> "...faculty need to use strategies such as discussions, simulations, and writing assignments that involve students in actively assimilating new information and ideas. It is only by such activity that underlying conceptual structures will change. This is not to say that lectures do not play a role in the classroom: they can be used to efficiently provide students with information. It is more often the case, however, that lectures treat students as vessels to be filled with information, and students may or may not actively engage in considering the information supplied" (p. 248).

A series of workshops given by Dr. Meggin Mcintosh, College of Education, to the Reynolds School faculty in 1995-1996 focused on teaching methods and critical thinking. A synopsis of some of her main points follows:

- Instructors must be aware of the schema ("the conceptual system for understanding") of their students. It is schema that enable ideas to make sense to students. Without relevant schema, students do not have the understanding or prior experience to enable them to comprehend and make sense of what is being said. Direct, purposeful experiences provide the best basis for further understanding. Verbal symbols (such as lectures) are about the least effective way to add to systems for understanding.

- Comprehension has been defined as linking the known to the new. Good teaching involves simultaneous and continuous involvement of the students in the lesson. Students learn best when they have a personal interest in the subject and when the teacher is able to draw on prior student knowledge and experience. Active participation and interaction between students facilitates learning.

- The teacher should plan ways for students to practice critical thinking skills in multiple contexts (to encourage skill transfer) and over an extended period of time, at home and in the course.

- The consequences of teaching in a more interactive and thinking-focused curriculum is that it slows down the amount of content that can be covered in a course.

- Metacognition is the knowledge and control one has over his or her own thinking and learning activities. Critical thinking, comprehension, etc. are subsets of metacognition. Getting students to think about their thinking can seem very difficult, but integrating this goal throughout the curriculum helps students to figure it out.

- Asking good questions is integral to good teaching and an excellent way to get students to think about what they are thinking. Because most students have been conditioned simply to accept instruction passively however, teachers must consciously work to create an atmosphere where students feel comfortable and stimulated to ask questions. This atmosphere must be constantly reinforced.

- To get good answers from students, teachers must pose good questions. The questioning strategies of a teacher can lead students to become good skeptics. If students are taught just to accept the information they are given, they can become cynics when they learn the way the world is. Questions inspire thinking and reflection, allow students to review material, involve students in evaluating their own learning, and encourage students to ahead (Chuska, 1995).

- When asking questions, teachers should leave plenty of silence until students begin to respond. Lots of answers should be encouraged since the best responses often don't start flowing until after a number of the easy answers have been thrown out. If students don't respond with questions, teachers can have them write down a few sentences of what they learned from the presentation. Students can be encouraged to use cards or e-mail. Ask "what questions do you think others might have?" These one-minute cards and other informal assessments methods are known as CATs -- classroom assessment techniques -- and are very useful in helping students reflect on what they are learning and providing valuable feedback to professors (Angelo, 1995).

- Teachers must *listen* very carefully to the responses of students. Some of the many categories into which student responses can fall include supportable or insupportable responses; opinions, feelings, beliefs, ideas or positions; predictions or hypotheses; responses in the form of questions; responses in the form of analogies; vague responses; generalizations; and biased or prejudicial responses. Each of these responses require different follow-up questions from the teacher. By anticipating student responses, the teacher can plan follow-up questions and other strategies to make the most of every teaching opportunity and to encourage students to focus on what and how they are thinking (Chuska, 1995).

- Modeling, or "turning up the volume on your brain" is another effective way to illustrate thinking to students. This is the show and tell method, the art of being very explicit about what professors are teaching students to do. This works best when teaching students how to produce a product or how to solve a problem.

It is also important to model the critical thinking/creative thinking behaviors and attitudes that teachers want to encourage in their students. Curiosity, risk taking, clarity, precision, accuracy -- as teachers express these qualities themselves and recognize and reward them in their students, they will be effective modelers. Modeling learning, for example, involves showing students how to approach a subject strategically and planfully, and should be demonstrated in the way a teacher approaches each lesson plan (Hayes, 1992).

- *William's model for teaching strategies* -- William's Teaching Model is a three dimensional model for "implementing cognitive-affective behaviors in the classroom" (Williams, 1970). The first dimension is the curriculum, the content of the subject matter. The second dimension is teacher behavior, the strategies or modes of teaching. These include 18 items, including paradoxes, attributes, analogies, discrepancies, provocative questions, examples of change, examples of habit, etc. to use in teaching. The third dimension is the student behaviors the teacher wants to encourage, which include fluent thinking, flexible thinking, original thinking, elaborative thinking, curiosity, risk taking, complexity and imagination. Creating a matrix based on this model stimulates ideas for assignments, course objectives and course content. It also provides a checklist for identifying gaps in a course or assignments.

Planning a course that includes critical thinking objectives

In fall, 1996, faculty at the Reynolds School taught a redesigned Journalism 101 course titled "Critical Analysis of Mass Media." The course is taught almost every semester in two sections of 60 students each and has traditionally been a straight lecture, survey course. In designing the revamped course, instructors followed the basic components of course planning:

Objectives
+ Learning experiences (assignments, classroom activities)
+ Assessment (evaluation)
+ Organization (structure)
= Curriculum

The overall goals for the course, written from the professors' point of view rather than the students', were:

- To provide students with a basic understanding of mass media, including an overview of mass media history, major theories and future trends.
- To make students more aware of their own thinking processes and to provide them with an understanding of the basic concepts of critical thinking.

The second step was to identify the most important objectives of the course. Faculty asked: "what do we want the students to be able to do at the end of the course that they could not do at the beginning?" Objectives were designed to be explicit, specific and measurable and were process oriented (an

TABLE A

Journalism 101: Course objectives

At the end of this course, students will be able to:	*Apply tools of critical thinking to what they see, hear and read in the media*	*Understand relationships between media and society*	*Identify great thinkers in the history of mass media and outline their major ideas*	*Describe impacts new technology has had, and is having, on media and society*	*Identify and a basic concepts media law, et and research*
By reading about, listening to, participating and discussing:					
The scope and structure of US mass media					
Media process models and political models					
Gatekeeper and other mass communication theories					
Historical context of mass media in the US					
Globalization of mass media					
First Amendment rights and responsibilities					
Dynamics of: newspapers, magazines, books, television, radio, film, recordings & new media					
Dynamics of media professions: print, broadcast, public relations and advertising					

educational goal stated in terms of how it is to be reached) as well as product oriented (an educational goal stated in terms of outcome or end results.)

In setting objectives, the following points were considered: how will the objective be measured (either by product or test)? How will the criteria for the objective be explained to students? Specific objectives help link the discrete activities in a course and gives them purpose. Designing assessments based on criteria from clearly defined objectives gives students the information they need to measure their own progress. The objectives for "Critical Analysis of Mass Media" are shown in Table A. Activities during the semester varied widely, including large group, small group, team and individual exercises. The theme of the course, which provided context for the historical, theoretical and media related subject matter, was media coverage of the fall Presidential campaign.

Assessment of critical thinking skills

Assessment is a vital part of the learning process. The ultimate goal is to have students engaged in continuous self-assessment of their own thinking, learning and behavior. This is a both a skill and an attitude however, which must be taught and encouraged explicitly. In an introductory freshman course, the goal is to introduce the basic concepts of assessment and to demonstrate the value of this stage of the learning process.

The most important part of assessment is the definition of criteria: "Criteria are necessary because they help you judge complex human performance in a reliable, fair and valid manner. Scoring criteria guide your judgments and make public to students the basis for these judgments" (Herman, 1992). Assessment must involve examination of the processes as well as the products of learning. It is also designed differently for different tasks: grading and monitoring student progress is distinct from diagnosis and improvement. The best assessment systems -- one which provide the most comprehensive feedback on student growth -- include multiple measures taken over time.

Pre-assessment is a valuable tool to help professors understand what students do and do not understand when they begin a course. Open-ended pre-assessment tests are more difficult to grade or assess, but are most valuable in gathering initial information. In a school where the teaching of critical thinking is adopted across the curriculum, pre-assessment can also serve as an important benchmark for evaluating progress from beginning freshmen to graduating seniors.

Besides various exercises designed to encourage self-assessment, peer assessment and content-related assessment, there are a number of commercial evaluations available for measuring critical thinking dispositions and abilities. The most common commercially available critical thinking test is the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal. Also used is the Cornell Critical Thinking Test which includes sections on deduction, detecting fallaciously ambiguous arguments, judging the reliability of information and authenticity of sources, judging whether or not a hypothesis or generalization is warranted, choosing useful hypothesis-testing predictions when planning experiments, and assumption finding.

King and Kitchener (p.78) argue that the focus of such tests should not be on ease of scoring and large scale administration, but should be focused on ill-structured problems (complex problems that have no right answer). They also argue that the test should allow for responses which reveal how students reason through an answer, and provide insight into how a student thinks about knowing.

Perkins (King 1994, p. 96) measures informal reasoning by conducting 90 minute interviews on "genuinely vexed issues." He asks respondents for (1) an initial judgment on an issue; (2) how confident they are of this judgment; and (3) how interested they are in the issue.

He scores responses based on:
- number of sentences (a measure of elaboration)
- number of lines of argument

- how many objections were raised to the respondent's own position (a measure of the extent to which each respondent considered the other side of the case)
- adequacy of explanation (how well a reason supported a conclusion, on a 1-5 scale)
- overall quality (1-5 scale)

The Reflective Judgment Interview (copyrighted by King, 1977) includes the following problem:

"Some people believe that news stories represent unbiased, objective reporting of news events. Others say that there is no such thing as unbiased, objective reporting, and that even in reporting the facts, the news reporters project their own interpretations into what they write" ((King, 1994, p. 260).

After presenting the respondent with this problem, the interviewer asks a set of "Standard Probe" questions which include:

1. What do you think about this statement?
2. How did you come to hold that point of view?
3. On what do you base your point of view?
4. Can you ever know for sure that your position on this issue is correct? How or why not?
5. When two people differ about matters such as this, is it the case that one opinion is right and one is wrong? (Follow-up question: What do you mean by "right" or "better"?)
6. How is it possible that people have such different points of view about this subject?
7. How is it possible that experts in the field disagree about this subject?

Based on responses, participants are rated as to whether their reasoning styles evidence pre-reflective, quasi-reflective, or reflective thinking. (King, p. 122)

For the purposes of the new course taught at the Reynolds School, a very simple pre-assessment/ post-assessment tool was created to help instructors begin to assess the critical thinking tools of students.

On the second day of class, students were given 10 minutes to write an in-class response to the following question:

> Which of the following two statements about the news media do you agree with more:
> 1. The news media helps society to solve its problems.
> 2. The news media gets in the way of society solving its problems.
>
> Please choose the statement that you most agree with and explain why.

The question was taken from a poll by the Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press, "The New Political Landscape," October 1994. The poll reported survey responses: 25 percent said the news media helps society to solve its problems, 71 percent said the news media gets in the way of society solving its problems, and 4 percent didn't know or refused to answer.

The same question was given to students the second to the last class of the semester for another 10 minute in-class response. The pre and post-assessment responses were then compared on the following criteria: position on question, number of words, length of sentences, number of concrete examples used in the response, and quality of writing and reasoning.

While there were 60 students enrolled in the class, turnover at the beginning of the semester resulted in only 23 completed and returned pairs of pre-and post-assessment tests. The results of the spring semester tests will be available in mid-May and will be added to these results as soon as possible.

The results show that some students changed their position from news media gets in the way of solving its problems to the news media helps society solve its problems. T-tests for paired samples show that the number of sentences, number of words and number of examples used in the responses increased significantly between the pre-assessment and post-assessment. Approximately 20 percent of the students shows a noticeable increase in writing clarity and reasoning ability between the pre- and post-assessment. Details are described in the following paragraphs and in Tables B-E.

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The number of students who felt the news media gets in the way of society solving its problems went from 9 in the pre-test to 4 in the post-test, while the number of students who felt the news media helps society solve its problems went from 10 to 17. The number of students who felt they couldn't decide between the two statements went from 4 in the pre-assessment to 1 in the post-assessment. The cross-tab is shown in Table B; the Pearson chi-square was .06.

The number of sentences used in the responses increased significantly between the pre- and post-assessments. The mean number of sentences in the pre-test was 4.69, which increased to 6.47 in the post-test. Using a t-test for paired samples, the 2-tail significance for paired differences was .003; the table is shown in Table C.

The number of examples used in the responses increased in the post-assessment. The mean number of examples used in the pre-test was .69; the mean in the post-test was 1.13. The t-test for paired differences showed this to be significant at the .022 level; the table is shown in Table D. The number of words also increased in the post-assessment. The mean length of the pre-assessment response was 91 words. The post-assessment mean was 118 words, a 2-tail significance of .002 (see Table E.)

While these measures do not quantify increases in quality, they do indicate an elaboration of thinking and will serve as a baseline for future and more elaborate assessments. Better assessments are needed to more fully evaluate progress in critical thinking, assessments which ideally should be conducted throughout a student's college career and in classes across the curriculum.

TABLE B

Cross-tab showing change of position between pre-test and post-test

```
VAR12  Type of test  by  VAR13  Opinion

                    VAR13                   Page 1 of 1
            Count  |
                   |Gets in  Helps    Unsure
                   |way                           Row
                   |     0  |     1  |     2  |  Total
VAR12      --------+--------+--------+--------+
                0  |     9  |    10  |     4  |     23
  Pretest          |        |        |        |   51.1
                   +--------+--------+--------+
                1  |     4  |    17  |     1  |     22
  Post-test        |        |        |        |   48.9
                   +--------+--------+--------+
           Column       13       27        5        45
            Total     28.9     60.0     11.1     100.0

      Chi-Square                    Value             DF           Significance
--------------------             -----------         ----          ------------

Pearson                            5.51839              2              .06334
Likelihood Ratio                   5.71448              2              .05743
Mantel-Haenszel test for            .19594              1              .65802
     linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -     2.444
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 -      2 OF     6 ( 33.3%)

Number of Missing Observations:  0
```

TABLE C

Results comparing the number of sentences used in the pre and post assessments:

```
         Paired Differences              |
  Mean              SD     SE of Mean    |       t-value      df        2-tail Sig
-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------
-1.7826         2.610              .544  |         -3.28      22             .003
95% CI (-2.911, -.654)                   |
```

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TABLE D

Results comparing the number of examples used in the pre and post assessments:

```
t-tests for Paired Samples


                   Number of             2-tail
 Variable            pairs      Corr   Sig           Mean              SD      SE
of Mean
 ------------------------------------------------------------------------------
 VAR6   Pre # of examples                           .6957             .635   .132
                    23          .405    .055
 VAR7   Post # of examples                         1.1304             .869   .181
 ------------------------------------------------------------------------------


          Paired Differences          |
   Mean              SD     SE of Mean |         t-value        df   2-tail Sig
 -------------------------------------|------------------------------------
  -.4348           .843           .176 |          -2.47         22       .022
 95% CI (-.800, -.070)                 |
```

TABLE E

Results comparing the number of words used in the pre-test and post-test responses

```
t-tests for Paired Samples


                   Number of             2-tail
 Variable            pairs      Corr   Sig      Mean    SD       SE of Mean
 --------------------------------------------------------------------------
 VAR9   Pre # of words                         91.3182       35.514    7.572
                    22          .457    .032
 VAR910   Post number of words                118.3182       33.386    7.118
 ------------------------------------------------------------------------------

          Paired Differences          |
   Mean              SD     SE of Mean |          t-value    df        2-tail Sig
 -------------------------------------|--------------------------------------
-27.0000        35.946           7.664 |           -3.52    21             .002
 95% CI (-42.937, -11.063)             |
```

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Institutional commitment to critical thinking instruction

> The simple but difficult arts of paying attention, copying accurately, following an argument, detecting an ambiguity or a false inference, testing guesses by summoning up contrary instances, organizing one's time and one's thought for study -- all these arts ... cannot be taught in the air but only through the difficulties of a defined subject; they cannot be taught in one course in one year, but must be acquired gradually in dozens of connections. (Jacques Barzun, quoted in Arons, 1990).

Gabriel and Hirsch caution that is very difficult initially to adopt a complex critical thinking program. They stress that teaching these skills is "an iterative process that requires support and commitment from administrators, faculty and students" (Gabriel, 1992, p. 263).

Defining objectives should not be confined to individual courses. A well-designed curriculum would involve defining objectives for the school as a whole and then assigning courses to the various objectives. This would eliminate redundancies, fill gaps and ensure a coordinated, well-thought out curriculum to best meet the needs of students. Finding ways to make connections between courses would reinforce the learning of important concepts and encourage students to draw parallels between different subjects.

An article in the Journal of Accounting Education made a number of points about the necessity of institutional commitment to teaching critical thinking:

> "...Engaging in this type of program really asks an institution to look at its priorities. [A critical thinking program] is very labor intensive on the part of both faculty and students. ...The school must be prepared to send the correct signals to its faculty (both untenured and tenured). Otherwise such a program will fail." (Gabriel 1992, p. 263) .

Institutional support such as faculty reward structures, teaching resources, faculty training and time are vital for accomplishing the objectives required in teaching critical thinking across the curriculum. Broad-based support for critical thinking at the University will be most successful if these institutional issues are addressed at the same time that individual instructors are learning how best to incorporate critical thinking within individual courses.

The goal is a coordinated effort to integrate critical thinking across the curriculum, while allowing maximum flexibility for individual interpretation and content by faculty members. Encouraging students to apply these skills in a variety of contexts and to draw connections between courses and disciplines, will improve student thinking abilities and facilitate real opportunities for learning -- the core mission of any institution of higher learning.

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Journalism 101: Pre-assessment

____

Name

This assignment is not a test. It will not be graded. It is a short exercise that will help us understand your writing and thinking skills. We will use this writing sample to help us prepare assignments and evaluate your progress by the end of the semester.

After you have read the two statements listed below, choose the one you most agree with and write a short (you have 10 minutes) explanation of what you think about the statement and why. We are not so much interested in which statement you choose, but in how you support your opinion. Write as clearly as you can, and support your point of view with evidence and examples. Use the space below and on the back of this sheet for your answer. Write as legibly as possible!

Exercise

Which of the following two statements about the news media do you agree with more:

1. The news media helps society to solve its problems.
2. The news media gets in the way of society solving its problems.

Please choose the statement that you most agree with and explain why:

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Teaching about teaching: Preparing doctoral students for the first job and beyond

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Teaching about teaching:
Preparing doctoral students for the first job and beyond

Abstract

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At the core of most doctoral students' studies is a fundamental contradiction. The doctoral degree serves as an introduction to research, yet, aspiring academics are hired because they can teach certain classes. This paper summarizes one institution's efforts to acquaint doctoral students with both practical and theoretical work on the teaching process and on the role of faculty members within the university. Professional teaching skills, course and curriculum innovation and ethics are addressed from the theoretical perspective of development. Anonymous student comments are included.

Teaching about teaching:
Preparing doctoral students for the first job and beyond

Introduction: Why this course?

At the core of most doctoral students' studies is a fundamental contradiction. To prepare themselves for an academic career, most Ph.D. students in journalism and mass communication spend anywhere from three to five years learning to conduct research. This conceptualization of the doctoral degree as a research union card is designed, in part, to help ensure that new scholars will carry on and expand the intellectual traditions of the field. On a practical level, a research emphasis assures both graduates and the institutions that hire them that newly minted Ph.D.s are tenurable. While this trend has perhaps come more slowly to journalism and mass communication programs than it has the traditional disciplines of the arts and sciences, it is part of a historical progression. "By the end of the 1920s, it had become plain that the intent and usage had grown irrevocably apart: the doctorate trained people only to do research, but was required of those who wished only to teach," (Kennedy 1996).

Yet, ask new graduates--and the faculties that welcome them--to analyze decisions about why they were hired for particular jobs and a different emphasis emerges. Aspiring academics are hired because they can teach certain classes. In fact, if the anecdotal evidence of recent years is any indication, what a student can teach--and how that student performs in the classroom--has significant bearing on almost all entry-level hiring decisions. Furthermore, while large, research-oriented universities will grant tenure on a dossier that emphasizes research, other types of institutions put teaching first. And, even the large, research institutions don't ignore teaching. "I've not always been happy with the way that we've handled this in the field," Dean Willard Rowland, University of Colorado, notes. "But at Colorado we are developing a program with a continuing pedagogical component to it. We pay a lot of attention to our doctoral students and what they are capable of in the classroom throughout the program." Colorado is not the only program or institution to begin to pay more attention to training future academics for their classroom responsibilities (Boyer 1990). The political realities of state-subsidized education are such that whether research plays the dominant institutional role, good teaching remains a necessary, if not always sufficient, ingredient for successful academic life.

However, recent research indicates that most doctoral programs in journalism and mass communication offer students little if any training in teaching and related activities such as course development and curriculum building (Cohen 1997). Indeed, doctoral students earn their teaching credentials by a variety of activities that, at one extreme, give them exclusive responsibility for a key part of the curriculum (such as beginning reporting and editing classes), while at the other have them doing little more than routine work under the supervision of a more senior faculty member. "Kennedy (1996) has pointed out that it is often assumed that TAs and RAs will, in practice, 'learn what they need to know from watching journeymen--the mentors under whom they study as graduate students' (p.13). He then identifies two weaknesses in the apprentice/mentor model. First, while most graduate students will find teaching positions in non-research institutions, their mentors' 'ideas of what is important come mainly from [the research institution] culture' in which they are working. And second, Kennedy writes, professors at research institutions tend to be focused on their own primary interest--the research at hand. 'Discussions of pedagogy...are rare in the environments in which most graduate training takes place,' (p.13)," (Cohen 1997, 30).

Unlike the research component of the doctoral degree in which reflection, critical analysis and intellectual growth are incorporated into coursework progressing through the dissertation, most graduate student teaching experiences lack a similar mechanism to promote individual reflection and development.

A recent guest editorial in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (January 17, 1997)put the contradiction succinctly. Despite the fact that doctoral education in the United States is considered the crown jewel of education worldwide, the current emphasis on scholarship has left the next generation of academics less well-equipped to function in the classroom than in the library or research laboratory. The dominance of research superficially contradicts the renewed focus on teaching at all institutions.

Just as important, many students decide to become college professors because of their affinity for and connection with the college experience and with students in the 18-to 24- year-old age bracket. They decide to become college teachers because they want to teach. Yet, their graduate programs provide them with haphazard training in this essential, and some would argue most rewarding, part of academic life.

Developing the teaching course

With this reality in mind five years ago, the faculty and students at the University of Missouri began an experiment in what has come to be known as "the teaching class." This three-hour evening course is designed to give doctoral students a chance to explore teaching issues in a setting that emphasizes reflection, critical thinking, and individual risk-taking. The class draws from a student population that, in any given semester, is immersed in teaching the school's basic courses such as news writing or editing, are currently on the job market and thus honing teaching and presentation skills, or are in the early portion of their doctoral studies trying to prepare themselves to teach as part of graduate work and later as a condition of employment.

The goals of the course, as noted in the syllabus, are: "This class, which is designed for doctoral students who aspire to teach at the college level, will focus on both theory and practice. In theory, we will discuss 1). the intellectual development of college students, 2) curriculum design for programs in journalism and mass communication, and 3) some ethical considerations centering on the role of the faculty member in the larger university community. In practice, we will create a teaching portfolio, videotape and gently critique a lecture presentation, discuss syllabus creation, grading, testing, and faculty evaluation, and introduce you to new classroom technologies. A portion of the practical side of the class also will be created by the students."

Even veteran teachers have responded positively to the course. "Having taught for 10 years, much of this was not new. But hearing from the variety of outside guests served to startle me off my complacency. It was like going to the dentist to get your teeth cleaned," a former student said.

The beginning: The student as individual

The intellectual framework for the class is anchored in the developmental theory at both the individual and system levels. The class initially focuses on the individual undergraduate. Doctoral students are encouraged to think of undergraduates as people whose intellects develop in stages, beginning with *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years* by William Perry supplemented by additional reading. By examining Perry's findings about the development of undergraduate student thinking, doctoral students are prodded to link specific course content to emerging intellectual skills. What might be appropriate for sophomore students in a beginning level reporting course whose thinking about news is essentially dualistic, for example thinking of visual communication as the taking and displaying of the most information-filled photograph, would be insufficient in a more advanced senior class in which students are developing a pluralistic view. In the senior course, the successful completion of a reporting assignment could be the melding of the visual and verbal elements to further the meaning of a particular story. Such an approach, if it formed the bulk of a beginning level class, could tend to frustrate the majority of students who have not reached the appropriate cognitive level; similarly, students in the pluralistic stage would feel too constrained by an assignment that failed to promote complex cognitive work.

This developmental approach of "meeting undergraduates where they are and taking them someplace" provides the doctoral students with analytic tools that enable them to build from individual assignment to entire classes and from individual classes to a curriculum that produces a well-educated professional. For example, guest faculty from the campus' writing intensive program (writing across the curriculum) emphasize the developmental nature of student writing. Students in the teaching class are told that increasing the cognitive difficulty of a writing task will almost certainly initially result in what looks like a loss of basic writing skills, for example grammar, spelling, and rudimentary organization. "This does not mean that students have forgotten what they learned last week," campus writing director Martha Vogt emphasizes. "It means that they are struggling so much with the increasing cognitive difficulty that they are temporarily forgetting what they have mastered before. As they get more comfortable with the cognitive task, the grammar and spelling and organization will come back."

How does a teacher get students comfortable? Rewriting, multiple assignments that focus on a specific task before moving on, allowing students to critique their own work or the work of colleagues and thus mastering the cognitive skill by application, all can be employed. This sort of instruction is, of course, the basic model of skills training in many journalism and mass communication classes. What is important for the doctoral students to hear is that these insights, which seem almost intuitive to journalism teachers, now dominate thinking about teaching writing campuswide. It is an area where journalism education has much to offer the entire university experience; this connection between professional education and the larger intellectual enterprise is emphasized throughout the semester.

The focus on the developmental nature of student writing often leads to a personal epiphany--namely that writing a thesis or a dissertation is difficult because it is a cognitively complex task, new to graduate students. This personal epiphany in turn often results in empathy for beginning reporting and editing students as well as some leavening of expectations about what any one assignment or any one class can accomplish.

In addition, grounding assignments and class development in intellectual development theory allows students to at least intellectually grasp that while certain teaching tasks will be difficult the first several times they are attempted, some things--for example grading papers--do get easier (not to be confused with less-time consuming) with practice. This longer view is particularly helpful for students who are first-time teachers themselves and who, immersed in their good intentions and high expectations, take every undergraduate student seriously and every student failure personally.

The middle: From student to course

As students are working with Perry's topology, they also read Murray and Ferri's *Teaching Mass Communication: A Guide to Better Instruction.* This book, which takes a course-by-course approach to teaching, provides students with examples of good and creative thinking about classroom instruction throughout the curriculum. Individual chapters provide students with the insights of experienced teachers on such issues as course goals;, the scope of particular classes; typical course content including, in some cases, types of potential assignments; and possible teaching resources, including texts. The volume is particularly important for Missouri students because few programs have the sort of newsroom access of which Missouri boasts. Careful reading allows students to understand how course goals can be accomplished in the classroom (as opposed to the newsroom). Because most doctoral students will begin their careers at institutions unlike Missouri, it is important for them to understand how similar work gets done--just as well-- in different settings.

The Murray and Ferri volume accomplishes two other pedagogical tasks. The first is quite practical. One of the initial class assignments is to read and critique two chapters, one for a class the student believes he or she is qualified to teach and the second for a class the student believes s/he could not teach. The assignment forces students to find the commonalties in quite distinct courses, to understand that cognitive skills can be transferred between and among classes in sometimes unexpected ways, and to give students some appreciation of what goes on in colleagues' classrooms. "We close the classroom door and experience pedagogical solitude, whereas in our life as [research] scholars we are members of active communities: communities of conversation, communities of evaluation, communities in which we gather with others in our invisible colleges to exchange our findings, our methods, and our excuses. I believe the reason teaching is not more valued in the academy is because the way we treat teaching removes it from the community of scholars" (Shulman 1993, 6). An intellectual understanding of what your colleagues are attempting is one way to introduce students to a community of teaching resources.

The second pedagogical task is more theoretical. Applying Perry's understanding of undergraduate intellectual development to specific courses provides insights into why courses are constructed the way they are. Applied theory promotes rational, goal-oriented course development. Students are thus able to explore through reading what the master teachers writing in by volume say the answers to questions about class structure, expectations, and potential avenues for individual adaptation and change.

Based on these initial discussions, the students move into what is simultaneously the most frightening and yet demanded part of the class: work on presentation skills. Many universities with programs that promote teaching excellence have urged faculty to begin this process through an assignment similar to the one the students in the teaching class must complete: they prepare a 10-minute lecture that represents something they would be doing in the middle of the class period (as opposed to the beginning or the end of class). This presentation is videotaped and, at the next class session, is critiqued by others in the class and by a faculty member who specializes in on-air performance and who is an award-winning teacher herself.

This critique is based on the following:

- Lecturing is not theatrical performance, although there are elements of performance in lecturing that anyone can master;

- The successful lecturer knows how to breathe properly and how to support the voice properly;
- The successful lecturer becomes aware of non-verbal cues s/he provides students and can consciously modify them to achieve desired results;
- If the lecturer is enthused and knowledgeable about the subject, both will communicate themselves to the students.

These sessions, while they were not consciously designed to do so, invariably leave the students with the feeling that "I'm not as bad as I thought I was" and "there are things that I can do to make this better without taking acting for non-majors." The guest faculty member invariably praises the students for their knowledge and grasp of the subject and for their enthusiasm in communicating it. Almost as invariably, the students also learn a lot about timing, about non-verbal cues, such as hiding behind or hanging on to the podium, and about more subtle techniques, such as maintaining eye contact with members of a large audience or using silence to promote class discussion. Because the faculty member conducting this portion of the class is so well-respected, she also speaks with students about questions of over-preparation and when and why to deviate from a planned lecture. She also initiates some outside assistance, including the phone number of a local voice coach.

This assignment, while the most emotionally difficult of the course, also seems to be one of the most productive. The students get a chance to see themselves through the eyes of others, and hence begin to develop a more realistic appraisal of their own abilities. In almost all cases, this assignment functions as a confidence-builder--although students initially go into it with the opposite expectation. Having some sense of how others see them provides them with tangible goals for improvement. More important, it lets them know they have strengths to build on. As one graduate of the class noted, "Although it was excruciating, having my teaching presentation videotaped and critiqued was valuable to me both as a student and as a teacher. It was very constructive to get comments from other students and from professionals about my strengths and weaknesses."

The second "presentation" assignment is seminar-style discussion. Beginning about one-third of the way through the semester, each of the students select a "book about higher education" from a list approved by the instructor. These books range in subject matter from general criticisms of curriculum (Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind*) to analyses of specific programs (Kerlow's *Poisoned Ivy*--a narrative about the politics of the Harvard Law School) to a broad vision of university life (Rosovosky's *The University: An Owner's Manual).* Students are required to write a one-page summary of their book to distribute in class and use as a discussion springboard.

While opening the door to a more Socratic-like exchange, these books--because they have been somewhat carefully selected--allow students to open up about issues that are important to them. The Harvard Law School book puts faculty politics on the table in a way that allows the students (who are more observant and wiser in these matters than might comfort many senior faculty members) to discuss the role that politics plays in hiring decisions and in tenure and promotion. Rosovosky's book, which is an ardent portrait of university life, reintroduces students to the undergraduate experience from an administrator's point of view. "I absolutely loved that book," one student told me more than two years after taking the class. "I loved reading about universities, and it made me realize that I want to consider administration.

How long after I get tenure do I start on this?" The discussion that arises from this volume focuses on attaining tenure and on the joys of service to the university community. Doctoral students, as intent as they are on their research agendas and initial classroom experiences, have given relatively little thought to the role of service. Rosovosky's book also introduces students to the notion that becoming an administrator is a potential career path.

Thus, the learning here takes place on two levels. Students get some practice in leading seminar-style discussion. At the same time, the exposure to higher education's critics and admirers raises some of the political and social issues that will have great bearing on their careers for more open and systematic discussion. Again, the emphasis here is developmental. Students are encouraged to think of a university career as one with many stages, each emphasizing different elements at different times of life.

Part three: Thinking about the curriculum

These books also make an excellent bridge to the final formal aspect of the course: curriculum design. To promote this discussion, students are required to read Blanchard and Christ's *Media Education and the Liberal Arts*. This volume is particularly pertinent because its curricular approach is almost the opposite of that to which doctoral students have been exposed in residence. Blanchard and Christ also focus on issues such as the impact of new technology on course content and curriculum design, address what should constitute core courses in journalism and mass communication, and candidly discuss the realities of academic life, such as academic advising, outcomes assessment, accreditation, and building links with the profession. Introducing students to the pitfalls of academic bureaucracy is almost always an eye-opening experience. For example, students are not really aware of the accreditation process. A thoughtful discussion of it allows students to begin to articulate some distinctions between minimal and maximal achievement, to examine how governance and mission role will influence their lives, and to expose them to the sometime shocking notion that much of their "teaching" time may be devoted to matters that look very bureaucratic and seem somewhat arcane.

The book also provides an excellent opportunity to discuss both goals and standards for professional undergraduate education--in many cases not limited by major. Because students in the teaching class come from a variety of undergraduate backgrounds, the exchange of ideas on "this is how things were done at [my small liberal arts college] compared to [my large state university]" provides students with a brief exposure to programs very unlike anything they have previously encountered. It's exposure that has consequences. "It (the class) helped me realize what type of environment I would be most comfortable teaching in. When we started talking about teaching philosophy and curriculum design, I realized that, for a variety of reasons, I would be better off teaching in a smaller, liberal arts setting rather than in a large, research university. Consequently, I have targeted my job search toward smaller institutions."

The written assignment for this part of the course asks the students to build a new major for their particular professional emphasis at an institution that is not the University of Missouri. They must designate core courses, required classes, and potential electives and briefly describe what they believe the overall goal of the undergraduate major should be. Students also are required to link various courses with specific stages of student intellectual development. The goal of this assignment is, of course, to encourage students to think about the curriculum both holistically and organically. Here, development takes place on parallel paths in which individual student development is linked to programmatic development.

On a much more pragmatic, but completely unspoken, level the assignment is also designed to give students some context to understand the curricula of programs where they will interview. Knowing how "your" course fits into an overall design (or appears not to fit), can help students begin to navigate both intellectual and political waters that are clearly a part of the job-application process.

"As a doctoral student in journalism, I had never been called upon to develop a course or curriculum from scratch, so I had never given it much serious thought," one student noted after the class. "But, it is very likely that, at some point in my career, I will be called upon to do one or both of these things. Our discussions and exercises in course and curriculum design forced me to consider 'the big picture' critically for the first time. As a result, I am prepared to make a new course of my own design dovetail with the rest of an existing curriculum, and even to design (or redesign) an entire curriculum if need be. Although the latter would be a real challenge, the teaching class gave me an understanding of how to approach it. Obviously, this is excellent preparation for real-world college teaching, especially as our field undergoes great change in response to new developments in communication technology and global access."

It is important to note that this portion of the course has changed the most radically since the course was first taught in 1992. At that time, there was little reading about curricula with the exception of the Oregon report. Soon thereafter, the Blanchard and Christ book was published; that book now functions as the intellectual anchor for this portion of the class. However, when the class in next offered in the fall of 1997, students also will be required to read Medsger's controversial "Winds of change" document which, on its face, it much more aligned with the Missouri model than with that proposed by Blanchard and Christ. While I as instructor have strong views about which of these visions is best-suited to educating professionals in the twenty-first century, it is important that students in the class understand the depth of the discussion about curricula in the field. It is a certainty that they will meet these issues in their professional lives; informed thinking, therefore, remains the goal of this segment of the class.

The things that don't neatly fit

The foregoing makes is appear that the teaching class is at least conceptually well-organized. But, as any experienced teacher knows, things do come up during the semester. So it is with the teaching class, although some of what comes up is planned.

For instance, usually two class sessions are devoted to ethical issues in teaching, one of them planned by the instructor. In that class, the students watch a trigger film (Kentucky 1993) to introduce issues such as sexual harassment in the work place. Students view segments of the film, which is a set of scenarios, and respond to what the actors in the film have done. Often, the discussion of sexual harassment is enhanced by first-person accounts from experienced teachers. Some of the questions seem relatively straightforward, for example, is it okay to meet a student in you office alone, after the regular school day has concluded, etc. Other questions are less easy to answer, i.e., in this day of political correctness, is it okay to hug a student in either congratulation or condolence. By working through such issues, students are asked to grapple with not just their own intentions, but the expectations undergraduate students have of faculty members outside the classroom.

These issues are equally important to graduate students of both genders, but for somewhat differing reasons. Many of the men in the class are well aware that they will be teaching classes that are predominantly female. How they treat their female students outside the classroom matters a great deal, and issues such as closing an office door, giving an affectionate pat on the shoulder, etc., can be explored in the comfort of graduate student colleagues, some of whom also are women (Belenky et al 1988). For women graduate students, it becomes important to discuss the role of the faculty member in responding to student complaints of sexual harassment, which seem to find their way to the untenured female on the faculty with some regularity. This discussion allows the class to explore such issues as what faculty can and should expect from department chairs and deans, why documents such as a faculty handbook are important, even in that first year on the job, and the potential political and career ramifications of an entire range of behaviors. This class session, which tends to become personal and revelatory fairly quickly, allows students to explore and psychologically prepare for an aspect of teaching that relatively little has been written about (outside of court decisions) but on which academic folk wisdom does speak.

The second class that considers ethical issues is almost always suggested by the students. Even though this class topic emerges from student concerns, students are asked to read Robert Audi's article about the ethical role of teachers in graduate education and adapt it to the undergraduate experience. Audi outlines a four-category typology of student-teacher relationships, ranging from arm's length instruction to friendship, including the concept of both mentor and guide. This discussion gives students the opportunity to explore the ramifications of different sorts of student-teacher relationships without having to label one particular relationship as "better" than the others.

Grading, which is mentioned throughout the semester, particularly in sessions on teaching writing, becomes the initial starting point for this discussion. Faculty members with differing grading styles are asked to speak to the students about their individual grading philosophies. For example, students have often functioned as teaching assistants for a faculty member with a 30-page syllabus in which every possible grading point has been explained and articulated. At the other extreme, students also hear from one of the school's most respected writing teachers who never puts a grade on any student assignment but writes extensive commentary on every student effort.

Students are introduced to research findings that suggest undergraduates in the early stages of intellectual development need regular grades, particularly early in the semester, to help diminish grade anxiety. Students are also encouraged to take on issues such as whether the grades in the class should reflect the classic (but apparently disappearing) bell curve; whether it is appropriate to ever reward for effort as well as performance; and how to fairly evaluate individual student effort in a group project where some people will have worked harder than others. Finally, students also are introduced to the notion that they, as teachers, will be graded by their students and the impact those student course evaluations may have on their careers, particularly during the tenure-seeking years.

While all these issues emerge in the discussion, they are not resolved to the satisfaction of anyone in the class, including the instructor. However, the discussion does provide the students with some additional ways of thinking about grading, many of which can be adapted to individual courses and individual styles.

The second serendipitous element of the class (I guess it would be appropriate to say it was serendipitous the first time it happened, after that it was planned) centers on the area of teaching philosophies. A guest speaker in the class, whose assignment according to the syllabus was to give an overview of the undergraduate professional experience, had the audacity to pose a question, instead: Do you teach the student or do you teach the material?

Emerging as the doctoral students have from literature that emphasizes the developmental approach, the question itself seemed shocking and the faculty members' comments about it provocative. In short, it made the students in the teaching class angry that anyone should suggest that it's the material that matters more than the individual student. References to this presentation came up for four weeks after the faculty member spoke. Students revisited the question when grading became the focus of the class, when syllabus creation was on the table, and when ethics was the center of discussion. The issue itself is particularly appropriate in a professional school where there is a readily visible set of professional standards implemented outside the classroom for all to see. Ultimately the class used the question as one way to approach creating a teaching philosophy, yet another class assignment that is intended to become one element of a teaching portfolio. Creating a teaching portfolio is introduced early in the semester and amplified in discussions of the role of teaching in tenure and promotion.

Finally, one of the things that often doesn't fit is what the students themselves bring to the class. As an informal but regular practice, students are asked to discuss with their colleagues the problems, frustrations, and joys they currently are experiencing in the classroom. Some of this discussion actually is classroom-centered. But, much of the rest emerges when students return from job interviews, exhilarated and exhausted by the experience and nervous about the outcome. These oftentimes highly personal revelations and questions lead to the creation of a supportive graduate student community, one that lends itself to deep discussion, although not necessarily the discussion called for on the syllabus.

Conclusions: Building a context of commitment

I start this class every time I teach it with one of my husband's jokes. My husband is a fourth grade teacher, and I think far better at his craft than I. So, I say to the students, "The reason I'm teaching this class is because I'm a good example of a bad example." (I usually get polite smiles at this point--which for me is a good audience response.) I go on to tell my students that learning to teach remains a continuing effort.

But, teaching about teaching is also a shared faculty obligation. While many faculty members willingly give their time as guest lecturers in the teaching class, others help the class in less formal ways. For example, faculty members supervising teaching assistants in their own classes are often willing to let the doctoral students experiment with something they are learning in the teaching class in other courses.

In a more formal sense, the class itself has also become formally "owned" by the doctoral faculty. Next year, for the first time, it will be required as a part of every doctoral students' plan of instruction. Furthermore, the class will now serve as a formal mechanism to allow doctoral students to articulate and plan for the sort of teaching experiences they want as part of their doctoral training. All this, of course, will not be accomplished without some stresses and strains. Department heads particularly worry about whether they will be able to count on doctoral students to cover certain courses as has been the historic precedent. But, just as offering the teaching class was viewed as a risk five years ago, this next, much more formal step, is similarly viewed as an experiment--one that certainly will be modified.

And it certainly should be noted that the class is far from perfect. Thoughtful students can and do find the problems. "There were things this course did not answer and did not teach, either because I was not ready to learn or some other shortcoming. Fair grading still escapes me. The balance between active arms around the sad shoulder and the era of political correctness is not yet found. We heard about syllabus creation from a master teacher, but personal experience shows that he also strays--so is it truly a robust document for the student or another chunk for some teacher's portfolio?"

Finally, it is important to note that Missouri is far from alone in this effort. Similar classes are offered by other doctoral programs; at other institutions, the university itself has begun to systematically work with graduate teaching assistants with a more long-range goal than merely seeing them through a particular semester. Whether any of these efforts will make a long-term difference cannot be the subject of rigorous evaluation for at least a decade as students move from doctoral programs into the academic work force. But, it is apparent that, in a variety of ways, doctoral education has begun to respond to the impetus of the Boyer report by building a content for commitment to teaching that parallels the commitment to research of traditional doctoral education.

Appendix I: Bibliography, Texts and Required Readings

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Murray, M. D., and Ferri, A. J. *Teaching mass communication: A guide to better instruction.* New York: Praeger.

Perry, W. 1970. *Forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Planning for curricular change: A report on the future of journalism and mass communication education, School of Journalism, University of Oregon, Eugene 1984.

Rowland, Willard. 1997. personal communication, March 20, 1997.

Schulman, L. 1993. "Teaching as community property: Putting an end to pedagogical solitude," *Change 26* (4), November/December: 6.

Students are also strongly encourage to read the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Journalism Educator* during the class. The chronicle is available on-line for students belonging to the community internet service, COIN.

Appendix II: Books about University Life

Barzun. J. 1968. *The American university: How it runs, where it is going.* New York: Harper & Row.

Belenky, M.F. et al. 1988. *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice and mind.* New York: Basic Books.

Bloom, A. 1987. *The closing of the American mind.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Bok. D. *Higher learning.* 1986. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Damrosch, D. 1995. *We scholars: Changing the culture of the University.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kerlow, E. 1994. *Poisoned ivy: How egos, ideology, and power politics almost ruined Harvard Law School.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Menges, R. J., and Weimer M. et al. 1996. *Teaching on solid ground: Using scholarship to improve practice.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Roche, G. 1994. *The fall of the ivory tower: Government funding, corruption, and the bankrupting of American higher education.* New York:

Rosovsky, H. 1990. *The University: An Owners manual.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Smith. P. 1991. *Killing the spirit: Higher education in America.* New York: Penguin.

Sykes, C. H. 1988. *ProfScam: Professors and the demise of higher education.* Washington, D. C.: Regency Gateway.

Appendix III: Trigger films about teaching

Dead Poet's Society--for anyone who ever went into teaching because they thought it would make a difference. Some remarkable scenes of teaching at the edge of student tolerance.

Kindergarten Cop--a great example of meeting students where they are, even when they are LOTS smaller than you. Probably more meaningful to me because my husband is an elementary school teacher.

Dangerous Minds--a more cliched version of the same message as Kindergarten Cop.

Mr. Holland's Opus--although it's a subtext, the impact of public funding on education is very much at the core of this wonderful film about a teacher's development in the classroom and at home. The notion of teacher as mentor is fully developed here.

The ethics of college teaching: trigger film. 1993. University of Kentucky. This film includes five scenarios covering a variety of ethical issues teachers face in a college setting. Terrific for starting discussions about these questions.

SETTING THE MEDIA AGENDA: A CASE STUDY

by

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ABSTRACT

Attempting to add to the growing literature on agenda building, the study uses agenda-setting theory as a model for testing the correlation between the agendas of the Christian Coalition and major U.S. newspapers. Highly significant relationships were found in cross-lagged correlations between the agenda of the group's official newspaper and the media agenda, and statistically significant second-level effects were also noted.

"The mass media force attention to certain issues," wrote Lang and Lang in 1966. "They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about" (p. 468).

Research on agenda setting has addressed this point with more than 200 studies over the past three decades (Rogers, Dearing, and Bregman, 1993). Relatively little study has applied the observation of Lang and Lang one step earlier in the process of distilling news--namely, to how sources present issues, information, and themselves to the media, suggesting what reporters "should think about, know about, have feelings about."

Where there has been study of setting the media agenda, the subjects often have been "gatekeepers," who decide what does and does not make the front page or the evening broadcast news. Many researchers have followed the example of David Manning White in his historic 1949 report on "Mr. Gates," which examined news routines and how an editor filled his news "hole." The sociology of news has looked at the interpersonal dynamics of the newsroom (e.g., Tuchman, 1978), emphasizing the "in-house" aspects of prioritizing stories and copy through field observation.

These methodologies, however, do not examine the dynamics of determining the news spectrum from which journalists select their topics. Gans (1979) theorized that sources organize a world of data into manageable choices for journalists, who then make story selections to fill news pages or broadcast segments.

Lippmann (1922), in discussing the prevalence of press agents, noted how interest groups increasingly felt they could not leave to the journalist's discretion how they would be portrayed. This may have been the first suggestion that there was more to the source-reporter relationship than one of supply and demand, that there may be a possibility of forming the pictures in the heads of the media.

The writings of Lippmann, key to theories on the direct transfer of salience (Protess and McCombs, 1991), also form the basis for a second level of agenda setting, which can influence that transfer. "The agenda of objects and the agenda of attributes can be looked at as two concentric circles with the agenda of issues being the outer circle and the agenda of attributes imbedded within that circle," defines Salma Ghanem (forthcoming, 1997).

This theory of the second level would seem to argue that by checking a source's messages for certain themes and qualities, researchers may find clues as to why the source does or does not gain favor in news coverage. Yet, in spite of the large number of framing studies (e.g., Tankard, et al., 1991; Davis, 1995; Liebler and Bendix, 1996) this remains largely unexplored.

The present study seeks to bring additional quantitative data to the discussion of media agenda setting, also known as agenda building, through a case study applying accepted agenda setting research techniques. The paper additionally attempts to look beyond direct transfer of issue salience toward framing, trying to identify at least some of the factors involved in capturing media attention.

This study compares the agenda of the Christian Coalition, one of the most influential U.S. political efforts of the past 20 years (Green, 1995), to the agenda of reports in top secular newspapers concerning the group. The coalition's regularly published newspaper reconstructed the organization's agenda, discourse, and alliances. The group radically changed its agenda after the 1992 elections, as Republicans blamed its leadership for the party's failure at the polls (Huckins, 1996). Drawing samples from pre-change 1992 and post-change 1994 seemed to provide a unique opportunity to test the dynamics of the Christian Coalition's relationship with the media.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Journalism scholarship has acknowledged sources exercise influence on news reporting. Other journalists, especially those of elite media, may help determine the media agenda (McCombs and Shaw, 1976; Whitney and Becker, 1982; Reese and Danielian, 1989). Individual newsmakers are conceded to make impacts as well, often functioning in a cycle of media reports, official reaction, and public opinion (Lang and Lang, 1983; Gonzenbach, 1996).

This newsmaker influence may vary according to the societal power of the source. Gans (1979) divided sources into "knowns" (i.e., government officials and business leaders) and "unknowns" (among them, crime victims and strikers). His study showed knowns receiving approximately 80 percent of major media news coverage, four times that of unknowns.

The relative power of source and media is also a consideration. High-power media may marginalize low-power sources, while high-power sources are thought to have a symbiotic relationship with high-power media (Reese, 1991; Gonzenbach, 1996).

Exploration of this territory in journalism literature has largely focused on the relationship between the U.S. president and elite media. Wanta, Stephenson, Turk, and McCombs (1989) found the president's state of the union message twice helped formulate the media agenda, while the media seemed to influence the chief executive's speaking topics an equal number of times. They saw distinct effects for print and television, as did Wanta (1992).

Studies on other sources have been more decisive. A vice-presidential tirade apparently changed how network reporters attributed information (Lowry, 1971), while advertisements in a gubernatorial race significantly correlated with subsequent agendas of print and broadcast media (Roberts and McCombs, 1994).

Variability in agenda-setting effects may not be confined to source power. As Gandy (1982) noted, sources narrow information choices for reporters, but reporters must narrow those choices into selections. Groups at the same power level may receive differing coverage, based on whether or not they seek media attention (Schattschneider, 1960). Researchers have discovered source influence varying among topics as well, a finding noted in studies ranging from a city council and local newspaper (Weaver and Elliott, 1985) to the president and elite media (Wanta and Foote, 1994).

Public relations scholars have made important contributions to understanding the nuances of the relationship between source and media. Turk (1986) found Louisiana daily newspapers utilized information from more than half of state agency press releases. Journalists surveyed said they based their selections on timeliness, the importance of the material to readers and the public, and whether the event or circumstance promoted was unusual or routine. Russell (1995), detailing the success of a Mothers Against Drunk Driving campaign that reached approximately 60 million Americans, reported that simplifying the group's message and close coordination with local leaders and law enforcement led to high levels of coverage.

Even in cases of emergencies and disasters, such strategies appear to have some effect. Examining the aftermath of an explosion at an Exxon petroleum refinery, Duhe (1994) matched themes from official company releases to texts of print and television stories on the situation. She cited timely information distribution, availability of officials, and consistent repetition of topics as factors in Exxon's "success."

There has been unexpected frustration from public relations practitioners that news editors and reporters rely too much on "official" pronouncements. The British media have encountered criticism from that nation's medical community for failing to independently verify accounts in trade journals (Wilkie, 1996), thereby spreading false information or premature conclusions from preliminary data.

A few scholars have tried to track source influence by group and topic, but methodology has been a stumbling block. Newsom (1978) compared consumer issue agenda items in a national consumer group newsletter and *Time* magazine and found little similarity, but she failed to look at only those mainstream media stories concerning the group. In addition, the study had low intercoder reliability (.53). Buchanan (1985) traced the Sierra Club magazine's attempt to push from office U.S. Interior Secretary James Watt, uncovering what the researcher felt was a small number of items compared to its overall editorial portfolio (13% of space). However, he did not compare this to coverage in any other outlet.

The literature review yielded indications of potentially high source influence on the media agenda, especially in non-presidential cases. This influence may vary with the comparative power of source and media as well as with the topic addressed. Timeliness, perceived importance of material to news consumers, and simplicity and consistency of message have been thought to be major predictors of source impact on the media agenda.

METHOD

Examining a group's agenda in comparison to coverage of the organization in its targeted media appeared useful in determining parameters of the source-media relationship. The Christian Coalition, an emerging factor on the U.S. political scene, likely fit between Gans' "knowns" and "unknowns" during 1992 to 1994, its formative years.

During this time, the Coalition published *Christian American*, a 28- to 32-page compendium of its news and views, nine to 12 times per year. The editor and staff of *Christian American*, billed as the group's "official newspaper," were all Christian Coalition employees. Such publications are generally reflective of an organization's agenda (Snowball, 1991), an assertion confirmed by author interviews (English, personal communication, 1996; Wheeler, personal communication, 1996). Thus, the newspaper agenda was taken as representative of the Coalition agenda.

The survey periods, selected for comparability and minimizing the effects of the campaign cycle, were December 1991 to May 1992 and December 1993 to May 1994. Each period was further divided in half, resulting in matching three-month periods for cross-lag correlation with the media agenda. The time lags fit into parameters of previous study (Wanta and Foote, 1994; Winter and Eyal, 1981) and allowed for appropriate aggregation of the relatively small data set (276 *Christian American* stories, 132 from secular newspapers).

All issue-driven stories in *Christian American* during the time periods were coded, providing the source agenda. The media agenda consisted of stories mentioning "Christian Coalition" from the Lexis/Nexis file of major U.S. newspapers. This was a census of the 1992 study period, and a systematic random sample of every fourth article for those in the 1994 period, due to the relatively large universe (n>300). Intercoder reliability measured by Scott's pi exceeded .80 for all tests.

The analysis sought to answer two main research questions:

1. *What is the direction (and degree) of source-media agenda building?* A list of 10 agenda items was condensed from a previous content analysis of Christian conservative-written newspaper articles (Huckins, 1996b). The rank-order of these in *Christian American* was correlated with that in secular papers.
2. *Does a change in attributes of source messages have any impact on the tone of media coverage?* Testing for attributes of coverage attempted to show if there were any links between a source's shift in rhetoric and secondary effects in the media. The Christian Coalition, after 1992, consciously used religious imagery less often in conversing about issues (Reed, 1993), and sought to "mainstream" its messages by incorporating non-Christian groups in its protests and news conferences (Huckins, 1996).

Merrill (1965) found tone and contextual bias two of the most prevalent forms of media slanting, and Lang and Lang (1983) felt language choices were important in media framing. Entman and Rojecki (1993) saw the balance of sources and terminology used in reporting on a movement as vital to evaluating its framing, or second-level attributes, in the media. Media stories in the present study were coded for overall tone, balance of sources, as well as adjectives and adverbs referring to the Christian Coalition. These measures sought to ascertain whether the post-1992 shift in source rhetoric affected second-level agenda setting in secular coverage. Chi-squares were computed for the data.

RESULTS

The tabulation of stories from the *Christian American* and secular newspaper coverage (Table I) showed evidence of the change in organizational agenda after the 1992 elections, and indicated shifting media emphases as well.

Table I STORY EMPHASIS BY SOURCE AND ISSUE

ISSUE	CA 1	M1	CA2	M2	CA3	M3	CA4	M4
Abortion	23.2%	0.0%	32.7%	20.0%	11.7%	3.2%	14.3%	7.8%
Gay Rights	16.1	4.3	16.3	6.7	7.4	19.1	3.9	5.9
Censorship	5.4	13.0	6.1	10.0	5.3	6.5	1.3	2.0
Education	5.4	30.4	6.1	3.3	8.5	12.9	9.1	13.7
Health Care					11.7	6.5	11.7	25.5
Civil Rights	1.8		4.1		9.6	6.5	9.1	7.8
Taxation	1.8		2.0		4.3	3.2	10.4	5.9
Ch./St. Sep.	8.9		4.1		7.4	6.5	3.9	5.9
Party Pols.	26.8	26.1	16.3	30.0	13.8	19.4	18.2	9.8
Mem./Org .	10.7	30.4	12.2	30.0	20.2	16.1	18.2	15.7
	n=56	n=23	n=49	n=30	n=94	n=31	n=77	n=51

(CA=*Christian American*; M=Media; 1=December 1991-February 1992; 2=March-May 1992; 3=December 1993-February 1994; 4=February-May 1994; Civil Rights=Civil/Personal Rights; Ch./St. Sep.=Separation of Church and State; Party Pols.=Party Politics; Mem./Org.=Membership/Organizational Profile).

Controversial social issues (abortion, gay rights, and censorship) accounted for 49.5% of *Christian American* stories in 1992, but only 22.2% in the 1994 time period. Mainstream issues (education, health care, civil/personal rights, and taxation) surged from 10.5% to 36.8%, while other categories maintained relatively stable levels.

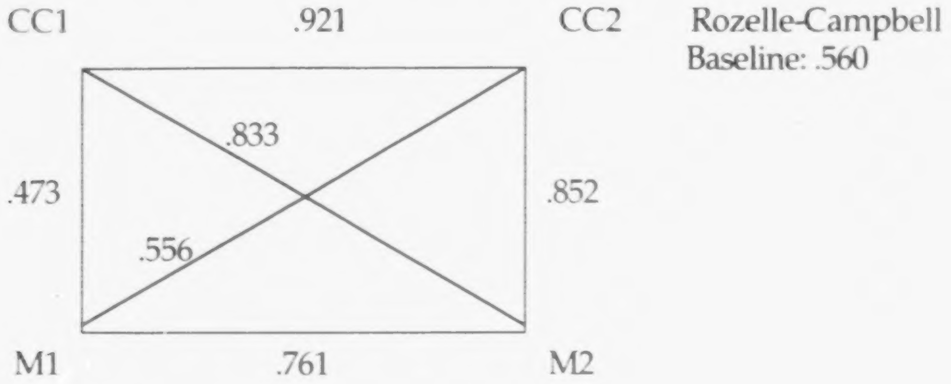
These data were then placed into rank order by section (Table II) in order to perform Spearman's rho calculations. The shift in media agenda seemed to closely follow the Coalition's, with secular reports exaggerating trending on only a few issues (i.e., health care).

Table II STORY RANK ORDER BY SOURCE AND ISSUE

	CA1	M1	CA2	M2	CA3	M3	CA 4	M4
ISSUE								
Abortion	2	8	1	3	3.5	9.5	3	5.5
Gay Rights	3	5	2.5	5	7.5	1.5	8.5	8
Censorship	6.5	4	5.5	4	9	6.5	10	9
Education	6.5	2.5	5.5	6	6	4	6.5	3
Health Care	10	8	10	8.5	3.5	6.5	4	1
Civil Rights	8.5	8	7.5	8.5	5	5.5	6.5	5.5
Taxation	8.5	8	9	8.5	10	9.5	5	8
Ch./St. Sep.	5	8	7.5	8.5	7.5	6.5	8.5	8
Party Pols.	1	2.5	2.5	1.5	2	1.5	1.5	4
Mem./Org.	4	1	4	1.5	1	3	1.5	2

Using Spearman's rho to cross-lag the rank order data showed highly significant correlations in the direction of the Christian Coalition (as represented by *Christian American*) influencing the media agenda.

Figure I CROSS-LAGGED CORRELATIONS OF 1992 AGENDAS



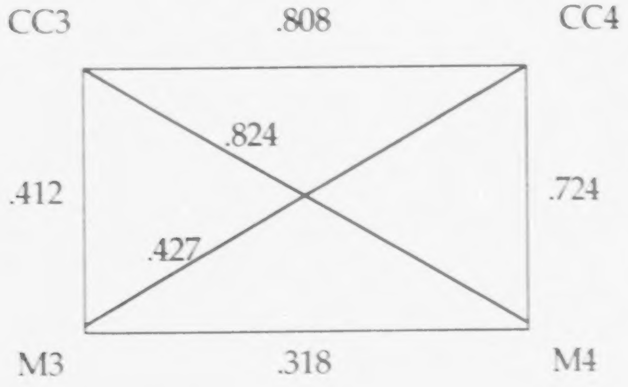
CC1-->M2=.833
M1-->CC2=.556

The Coalition agenda at time 1 had a strong correlation to the media agenda at time 2 (.833, p<.001), with the opposite direction, media 1 influence on Coalition 2 agenda (.556), falling below the Rozelle-Campbell baseline. The consistency of the Coalition agenda between periods (.921) added to this finding. The high correlation between group and media agendas at time 2 (.852) possibly could be explained by the effect of bringing the media viewpoint to reflect more accurately that of the organization, the goal of Christian Coalition or any special interest group.

The 1994 correlations pointed in substantially the same directions (Figure II). The Christian Coalition agenda at time 3 corresponded strongly to the media agenda at time 4 (.824, p<.001), and media time 3 influence on the Coalition agenda at time 4 was comparatively low (.427, p>.05).

The inconsistency of the media agenda from time 3 to time 4 (.318) caused both the main Coalition-media correlations to be above the Rozelle-Campbell baseline. This might also be explained by the slightly increased volatility of the Coalition agenda (CC3-->CC4=.808), certainly understandable as the organization went through a state of flux. Nevertheless, in helping answer the first research question, Figures I and II supported the idea that sources may have strong effects in setting the agenda of media covering source activities.

Figure II CROSS-LAGGED CORRELATIONS OF 1994 AGENDAS



Rozelle-Campbell
Baseline: .349

CC3-->M4=.824
M3-->CC4=.427

In testing whether source agenda emphasis may lead to effects beyond the media agenda, Table III showed statistically significant changes in two of three measures.

Table III CHANGES IN MEDIA TREATMENT OF COALITION

	1992	1994
TONE		
Positive	15.1%	24.4%
Negative	66.0	48.9
Neutral	18.9	26.8
	n=53	n=82
(x^2=4.00, p<.10)		
TERMINOLOGY		
Positive	27.1	34.8
Negative	47.2	34.4
Neutral	25.7	30.8
	n=1078	n=805
(x^2=31.41, p<.01)		
SOURCES		
Positive	45.9	43.0
Negative	44.0	39.6
Neutral	10.1	17.4
	n=366	n=460
(x^2=8.98, p<.02)		

(totals may not add to 100.0% due to rounding)

Following the shift in Christian Coalition agenda emphasis in 1992, stories in major U.S. newspapers used sources less likely to be negative toward the group ($p<.01$), and applied greater proportions of positive adjectives and adverbs to the Coalition and its membership ($p<.02$), with a near-perfect breakdown in 1994 between positive, negative, and neutral terminology. Although overall tone of stories did not change significantly ($p<.10$), the data still pointed in this direction for all three coding categories.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The strong correlations among the 1992 and 1994 Christian Coalition agendas (as portrayed in *Christian American*) and the subsequent media agendas provided evidence a source can make a purposeful impact on media coverage. The fact the correlations remained significant despite statistically significant changes in the Coalition agenda (Huckins, 1996) seemed to indicate that this was a consistent effect across time and agenda items. The source-media cross-lagged correlations (.833 for 1992, .824 in 1994) were consistent, and virtually matched that in the Weaver and Elliott 1985 study. This raises the question of a "source constant."

On the level of secondary effects, tests of story attributes of major U.S. newspapers showed a concerted effort by a source to change its image toward the perceived preferences of the media can modify media framing. Two of three measures achieved high statistical significance, while a third approached it.

There obviously needs to be more study on the key questions of causality of source-driven effects in media coverage, as well as additional work on transfer of issue salience. This paper attempts to build toward these theories of media sociology and setting the media agenda.

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From wise to foolish:
The changing portrayal of the sitcom father from the 1950s to the 1990s

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Abstract

This content analysis of 72 episodes of sitcoms categorized by decade in which they were originally aired shows modern television fathers are more likely to be shown foolishly than in the past. The study shows that with the increased presence of women in the American workforce over time, sitcom fathers have gone from "knowing best" to knowing little. The portrayals are shown to have changed over time and to correlate with these extra media variables.

INTRODUCTION

As women gain economic power in society, power relationships between the sexes seem to be changing as well. No longer are men the sole providers for families, and, therefore, the undisputed heads of household. Instead, women are becoming more powerful in the work force and are bringing that newly earned strength into the interpersonal relations experienced daily at home. These trends in society are hypothesized to be manifested in a power shift between the genders on television programs, at times subtle in nature, that has slightly displaced the all-knowing, wise father and husband who used to be above serious, or even light-hearted, criticism due to his dominant and economically crucial role.

The change in social structure may be reflected in television programming content over the years. In family-oriented situation comedies, fathers seem to have gone from "knowing best" to bungling things up. Ward Cleaver rarely lost control of the situation, always knew just what to say to misguided children, and provided the sole paycheck for his family. Conversely, sitcom fathers on contemporary shows such as "Home Improvement," "Roseanne," and "Step by Step" are silly, slow, but good-natured oafs, who are often outwitted or made the butt of jokes by the smart, sassy, and gainfully employed wives on the programs.

This study deals with sitcom content as a dependent variable, theoretically influenced by the changing nature of economic power positions of men and women today. The author suggests that men in family shows on television have become more culturally available as butts of jokes since women's economic positions in the "real world" have been strengthened. By content analyzing selected television fare from the 1950s to the present, the study seeks to determine whether a pattern may be found which documents a changing portrayal of male characters from positions of wisdom and authority to roles in which their influence and sensibility are called into question or mocked. With women taking on more of the burden of bread-winning, they no longer appear to "owe" men the unquestioning respect and reverence that accompanied the nearly sacred position of male economic dominance as head of household. Freeing the male household member from sole responsibility in real life may be associated with freeing television fathers from their positions of unquestioned respect.

THEORY

Influences on Media Content

To address the changing role of fathers in television shows, we should first look at mass communication theory regarding influences on media content. The author does not take the position that television merely "objectively" represents what is happening in the world, providing a mirror reflection of the changing status of men and women in the working world and the subsequent shift of power. Rather, the study operates from a position posited by Shoemaker and Reese (1996), that, although television is certainly a product of its environment, the reality it projects is shaped by many factors which cause it to deviate from an exact and accurate portrayal of social reality. Shoemaker and Reese assert that the primary factors influencing media content are specific predilections or characteristics of individual media workers, media routines, organizational structure and roles, ideology, and forces external to media organizations. The production of family-oriented situation comedies, we argue, fits within this structure, being potentially affected by the same forces.

We believe that the changing power structure in the "real world" manifests itself in television content through many channels. First, those individuals who are responsible for writing and producing television programs may have experienced or witnessed a change in which women have pursued careers and become more financially successful in their own families, peers, or friends. In fact, more women have enjoyed a larger role in the television entertainment business over the years (Lichter, Lichter, & Rothman, 1994). Routines in the television business may impact the portrayal of men and women in that there are several "entertainment values" which must be met to make a sitcom successful, including appealing to an audience of men and women by portraying family situations which they may relate to, find credible, and find attractive.

Within the organizational influences of television production lies the bottom line: the economic success of a program as measured by high ratings. Above all else, a sitcom will adopt a format and family structure that wins audiences, which in turn attracts advertisers' dollars. Ideology may impact sitcom content by stressing the capitalist nature of both society and media organizations themselves by showing characters doing well by operating within the existing system, with goals of material goods acquisition or advancing on the occupational ladder of success. External factors as defined by Shoemaker and Reese (1996) are likely to impact sitcom content, as well. Because television content must attract advertisers, it rarely risks being daring, but instead provides content that will be widely accepted. Further, content must be produced with the characteristics of the marketplace in mind. Researchers study the demographics and psychographics of the potential audience to determine what they will find funny, relate to, and want to see.

The Female Labor Force

The societal trend upon which this study is based is proven by the analysis of national statistics (see Table 3 for those used in data analysis). Undeniably, the disparity between the average earning power of men and women is slowly lessening, with women gaining ground in terms of economic power every decade. In 1970, the average yearly income for men was over $23,000; for women, just under $8,000. In 1993, although still quite large, the gap had closed somewhat, with the average annual income for women measured at just over $26,000 a year; and men in the work force reported making over $39,000. Participation of women in the work force with children at home and a husband present has increased from over 27% in 1960 to 69% in 1994; for single mothers the number has grown from 56% to 73% (The World Almanac Book of Facts, 1995; U.S. Bureau of the Census: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995).

Thus, we argue not that television mirrors these changing roles. Nor do we presume to hypothesize about the interactions that occur between mothers and fathers in real life. Rather, we see television programs inevitably drawing in part from conditions in the society in which it is produced. In the context of this paper, it is our position that changing economic roles of women created a climate in which criticism of men became more culturally acceptable. Therefore, television programs were more free to present father figures in charmingly inept roles instead of merely as the traditional pillars of strength and good judgment.

Content Analyses of Televised Portrayals of Families

Much of the existing research on presentations of family life on television involves describing the structure and type of families shown (e.g., Skill, Robinson, & Wallace, 1987; Greenberg, Hines, Buerkel-Rothfuss & Atkin, 1980). Two comprehensive studies examine television content over the past four decades, documenting similar findings. Skill and Robinson (1994) found an increase of single-parent families, a larger proportion of male single parents than females (although the gap has lessened), an increase in the average number of children on shows, and an even distribution of male and female children since the 1970s, with more male children than female in the programs before. Moore, examining content from 1947 to 1990, found an increase in "non-conventional" families, more female characters obtaining employment outside the home, and a trend toward increased wealth for sitcom families, with very few families shown to be working class at any time (Moore, 1992). Furthermore, Larson's (1993) investigation of two domestic sitcoms, "The Cosby Show" and "The Simpsons," showed most communication between dyads on the programs is affiliative rather than conflictive, building on the work of Greenberg (Greenberg, Hines, Buerkel-Rothfuss, & Atkin, 1980).

Other important studies examine gender and parenting on television. In an analysis of programs from 1982, Dail and Way (1985) found that both male and female parents used a nurturing, supportive approach to parenting more often than an aggressive, disciplinarian role, although fathers were significantly more likely to exact discipline. Male parents were shown to be more active in parenting on television than females as well as successfully eliciting a favorable response from a child more often, yet they are more likely to take an authoritarian approach than a flexible one. Although both mothers and fathers were generally pictured in traditional roles, they found a contemporary trend toward more nurturing males (Dail & Way, 1985). Reep and Dambrot (1993) had students rate popular television mothers and fathers on the degree of stereotyping in their personal attributes and the apparent effectiveness of their parenting. Results indicate that people perceived vast differences in the portrayals of mothers over time in television, with "non- current" mothers being much more stereotypically feminine, deferring to a wise father's judgment more than "current" mothers. The rating of fathers also changed with time, becoming less reflective of stereotypes, and indicating respondents viewed modern television parenting as being shared almost equally by non stereotypical mothers and fathers. In shows from the past and present, males were rated slightly more effective at parenting (Reep & Dambrot, 1993).

Other studies investigate male and female roles and power struggles in television content not necessarily specific to family-oriented sitcoms (e.g., Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Signorielli, 1989; Reep & Dambrot, 1987; Craig, 1992; Lovdal, 1989; Kalof, 1993). Still another focus for past research delineates the role of women on television, as compared to relationships between the sexes off the screen (e.g., Wroblewski & Huston, 1987; Dominick & Rauch, 1972; Seggar, 1977).

Qualitative Analyses of Sitcom Fathers

Qualitative findings exist which mostly closely parallel this study, having investigated the manner in which fathers are depicted in domestic comedies. Cantor's work supports hypotheses put forth by Glennon and Butsch that domestic comedies featuring working class families are more likely to present the father figure as foolish or the subject of ridicule than shows in which the family is middle class or above (Cantor, 1990; 1991). As examples of working class television families with fathers prone to folly, Cantor discusses such programs as "The Honeymooners," "All in the Family," and "Roseanne," claiming "working class husbands are portrayed as clumsy, awkward, and inept, while working class wives are usually strong and superior" (Cantor, 1990). She cites such middle class families as those from "Leave it to Beaver," "Father Knows Best," and "The Cosby Show" as presenting situations in which the fathers are wiser and given more respect. However, Cantor also points out that since the vast majority of programs do not portray working class families, "women and men in most series are relatively equal" (Cantor, 1991).

Butsch refers to this phenomenon as "gender inversion" in later research and theorizes that it occurs when "failing working class men are thereby labeled deviants who are responsible for their own failure" (Butsch, 1992). The success of programs in this category ("The Flintstones," "The Honeymooners") may have created a stereotype of the working class family man as buffoon on sitcoms which get their laughs from making fun of his stupidity. Conversely, the wives in this program type are generally sensible and mature while both parents of middle class television families are "super parents" who are responsible and successful at raising children and running the household. Furthermore, Butsch indirectly posits that this pattern in portrayals is not merely true in older sitcoms, as working class male buffoons are found in programs from the 1950s and 1970s as well as recent shows such as "The Simpsons" and "Married with Children." (Butsch, 1992).

In their extensive qualitative examination of prime time television fare over the years, Lichter, Lichter and Rothman (1994) provide some evidence regarding portrayals of fathers and mothers that runs counter to the class hypothesis. For instance, in the sitcom "Home Improvement," the family is clearly middle class, yet "the well-meaning but bumbling Tim is regularly chided by his forbearing wife Jill, who clearly has the brains in the family." Though few contemporary shows portray working class families, they find that women are generally portrayed as more "capable, competent, or cool-headed" than their male counterparts, allowing them to indirectly suggest that the changes are caused by real time, not class structure, when claiming that "on prime time today, Mother knows best" (Lichter, Lichter, & Rothman, 1994).

The Treatment of "Real World" Issues on Television

This study seeks to tie in the television programming variable to a "real-world" phenomenon that is changing the power allocation between men and women. Wilkie (1993) studied this trend from a sociological point of view, suggesting "that structural change in the economy of the family that has changed men's experience as breadwinners is the major force altering gender expectations about family roles." She found a decrease in people who think married men should be the only wage earners in the household, from 32% in the early 1970s to 21% in the late 1980s. Support for the notion that it was best to have men be solely responsible for being providers also fell from 69% to 47% in the same time period. Although decreasing, these numbers are inflated compared to actual behaviors, in which only 15% of families are currently supported by only a male member (Wilkie, 1991). Finally, Wilkie puts forth the notion that sharing the responsibility of financially providing for the family may be perceived by men to lead to "the loss of...privileges in the home to which being the breadwinner has entitled them" (Wilkie, 1993, p. 277).

This study suggests that a prior exemption from ridicule was one of the "privileges" men enjoyed and was reflected in television content. Thus, the research differs from the existing literature in that it is an empirical look at the power relations between mothers and fathers on domestic comedy as apparent in the humor appeals used on the show. The above studies examining these relationships have operated from a qualitative paradigm. Additional, specifically quantitative attention will complement and emphasize those important studies. Furthermore, though the class hypothesis that states that working class families are more likely to have an inept father figure is supported in the literature, no theoretical explanation is given. It is our assertion that the working class difference in media content is also a sign of the times in real life, where it became necessary for two income families which spurred lower class women to work. Several clues exist in the literature to support a broader interpretation of the foolish father portrayal. For instance, Glennon and Butsch documented the trend in only the 1950s and 1960s as well as cited examples that are contrary to the theory, such as "I Love Lucy," in which the mother is scatter-brained and "The Stu Erwin Show," which features an inept middle class father (Butsch, 1992). Moore found that shows in the 1970s and 1980s portrayed greater wealth than prior programs, thus leaving open the possibility that greater societal issues in the nation were at work, instead of just the socioeconomic status of the television family (Moore, 1992). Furthermore, Thomas and Callahan found that sitcom families with lower incomes were presented as more happy and harmonious with family members demonstrating more good will toward one another than in families with higher incomes. Logically, if television characters are being "harmonious," they are probably not treating the father as a fool (Thomas & Callahan, 1982). Finally, although Cantor claims it's the Bunkers' class status that leads to the portrayal of Archie as a fool, she mentions that "as the series progressed, the Bunkers became even more middle class" while Archie was still portrayed as the irrational imbecile (Cantor, 1991).

Hypotheses Stated

This study seeks to understand media content as a dependent variable, being influenced predominately by the economic and structural changes affecting American families over the last few decades. As gender roles have changed, we suspect that male characters on television programs have become "fair game" for light-hearted ridicule. We suspect that older sitcoms will be unwilling to poke fun at the male authority figure in the household, whereas more recent sitcoms will have more jokes made at the expense of the father. Although this situation may be more pronounced in working class family television households, we argue this is merely due to situational factors and only further supports the position of the paper. Specifically, the hypotheses to be tested are:

H1: The more women gain economic power in the nation over time, the more likely family-oriented sitcoms will be to portray the father characters foolishly.

The independent variable, then, is time; or, more specifically, the societal trend which has occurred over time, giving women increased economic strength. The family sitcom content is the variable which depends upon this trend. The concept of "time" can be theoretically defined as the period in which, over several decades, the country experienced a change in economic and family structure as women joined the work force and gained economic ground. Simultaneously, television programming evolved from the first shows of the 1950s to the present, and with it many themes and portrayals changed as well. The concept of "foolish portrayals" on television shows, then, is theoretically defined as when a certain character is poked fun at, presented as being unwise or dim-witted, and is made to look like a fool on a family-centered situation comedy. To link the societal trend with television programming, several sitcoms that were aired over each decade from the advent of television to the present will be investigated. Because each show was produced in a specific time period, it will, consciously or not, portray many themes, conventions, and situations specific to the era. Therefore, we measure an artifact of time's passing as a dependent variable, the content of the hugely popular medium of television. Moreover, the existing research would indicate that the portrayal of the sitcom father as a fool does, indeed, appear to fluctuate as a trend in television programming. Specifically, we measure the "foolish portrayal" variable using a collection of indicators, including whether the character is the butt of a joke, is shown to be irresponsible or inept, is childish, ineffective in interpersonal relations or silly, is unwise or irrational, or is portrayed as being dim-witted or worthy of ridicule.

> H2: Family-oriented sitcoms featuring working class families will be more likely to portray the father characters foolishly than family-oriented sitcoms featuring middle to upper class families.

As stated above, we believe that presenting a father on domestic comedy as a fool is due, in part, to a larger societal trend that manifests itself in many influences on media content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The content is not, then, explained solely by the class of the sitcom family, contrary to claims made by other researchers. However, based on those findings we do predict that the tendency for the father to be shown condescendingly will be greater if the television family is working class. This hypothesis is based on both existing studies (e.g., Butsch, 1992) and the proposition of hegemony in which the media may benefit from favorable portrayals of capitalism succeeding and leading to domestic tranquility as well as the all-important television axiom that popular program formulas are often imitated to increase the likelihood for financial success. It is logical to assume that in working class families, it became necessary for the mother to work to share the bread winning burden before wealthier families decided to have the mother work. Therefore, the father may have been subject to ridicule sooner for these families as a result of his sharing, out of necessity, the pedestal reserved for financial providers. Thus, the findings of these studies (e.g., Butsch, 1992; Lichter, Lichter & Rothman, 1994) fit within the constructs of the theory presented here, rather than oppose it.

In order to place this study within the existing literature, this hypothesis deals with the "foolish portrayal" variable as depending upon the apparent class of the television family portrayed. The class of the family is theoretically defined as the socioeconomic category in which the fictional family would be placed, depending upon interpretation of such clues as occupations, material goods presented, and references to money or income.

METHOD

Sampling Decisions

This study is a content analysis of domestic situation comedies airing on television from the 1950s to the present. Domestic sitcoms are generally defined as those television comedies which center around members of a household or a family unit. Only those sitcoms with both a mother and a father character as well as at least one child present in the household were included in the primary sampling step for this investigation, as the purpose of the study is to infer about the power relationships between television mothers and fathers, drawing from comedic interactions between the two. The programs used for the analysis were obtained either through videotaping the broadcast or cable offerings of current and syndicated shows or through purchase or rental of television programs meeting the criteria at video stores. Inevitable in research of this type are problems of accessibility of television shows of the past.

Therefore, the lack of a sufficiently large number of programs available for study meeting these requirements made it necessary to expand this definition for some decades of programs to include two shows where the father figure is not really the biological father of the children present ("The Partridge Family" and "Nanny and the Professor") and one shows in which no children are present ("Newhart"). Moreover, because the dates during which the program aired are hypothesized to reflect the social times in which the show was produced, programs designed to reflect a different time period than that in which they were actually produced are excluded from analysis, such as "Happy Days."

Because all old television programs are not equally available, a list was compiled of all domestic sitcoms meeting the above criteria from which numerous, different episodes were accessible. The universe of appropriate programs was then divided into five groups according to the decades in which they originally aired, from the 1950s to the 1990s, based on Shapiro's (1989) 40-year compilation of air dates for network programs. If a particular show aired over two or more decades, Shapiro's analysis was used to categorize the show into the decade in which it began, based on the notion that the show would be most likely to reflect the time period in which it was developed. This process was necessary as there was no way to know on what actual date the programs offered in syndication videotaped for this study were originally aired.

Every show from the list was included in the sample to represent the domestic comedies airing in that decade. The sample is therefore a convenience sample of all television programs meeting the criteria which were available on a regular basis at the time of the study. Each program was videotaped for a week and a half, capturing each consecutive episode that aired during that time period, for a sample size of 75 episodes, totaling over 37 hours of programming. Three shows were later discarded from the sample because the father character was not present in that episode. There is no reason to believe that the syndicated episodes of the sitcoms the cable and broadcast programmers chose to air in this time period were not random in nature nor representative of the show as a whole. The unit of analysis in this study is the episode of each television program examined. See Appendix 1 for a list of programs included in the study.

Definitions of Concepts and Coding Schemes

The coding scheme consists of four parts, the background information about the television family, information about the joke teller and the butt of the joke, a series of adjectives presented as antonyms that the coders used to rate on a five point scale the degree to which the father characters were or were not portrayed in variously foolish ways, and information about the show itself. First, the coder recorded such information as the name of the program, the apparent class of the family, and the occupations of the sitcom mother and father. For each joke, coders then recorded which characters were present in the scene at the time, who told the joke (the mother, the father himself, a female child, a male child, a female other, or a male other), and who was the butt of the joke. Later, information regarding the show itself was also recorded using external sources, such as the dates during which the show aired and the network on which it is currently offered. By recording each joke individually, we are also able to determine a count of jokes or humorous incidents involving the sitcom father (see Appendices 2, 3 & 4).

The third part of the coding scheme attempts to capture the nature of the comedic action or interaction of the father on the show. It is comprised of a series of bipolar words with a five-point scale in between the pairs of opposing adjectives, so that coders may label each episode's representation of the father along the numerous indicators of "foolish portrayals." Coders are asked to circle a number from 1 to 5 between the words wise and foolish, smart and dumb, responsible and irresponsible, serious and silly, competent and inept, mature and childish, sensible and a buffoon, worthy of respect or worthy of ridicule, rational and irrational, and effective and ineffective (see Appendices 2, 3 & 4).

The independent variable in Hypothesis 1 is the time period in which the program aired. In addition to using the decade of the program as the independent variable, measured at the interval level, we also employ the variables showing the economic status of women at the same time in which the program was airing. These variables are measured as either counts or percentages, ratio level measures. The independent variable in Hypothesis 2, the class of the television family represented, is being measured at the ordinal level, by coders recording the apparent class of the family by trying to judge how well off and prestigious the family seems. Three categories are given: upper class, middle class, and working class. Working class is theoretically defined as having a lower than average income, few expensive possessions, financial concerns or instability, and blue collar occupations.

The dependent variable for both hypotheses, foolish portrayals, is operationally defined in two ways, first by counting the number of jokes in the episode that are made at the expense of the father as well as the proportion of the number based on the overall number of jokes, and, second, by using multiple indicators of overall portrayals. The former, a ratio-level measurement, is accomplished by recording, for each joke or humorous incident, who told it and who was the butt. In other words, who got the better of whom? The latter measurement is comprised of indicators in the form of the aforementioned pairs of adjectives used to describe the portrayal of the father, with coders circling a score from one to five. The bipolar scales are assumed to provide interval-level data.

Detailed instructions regarding what constitutes a certain type of (wise or foolish, smart or dumb, etc.) representation were given to each coder prior to viewing the programs (see Appendix 2). For instance, the father would be coded as wise if he is shown making good decisions, successfully drawing from past experiences to give sound advice, using logic and intelligence to problem-solve, or showing he is perceptive, knowledgeable, or understanding. Conversely, a foolish father would make poor decisions and give bad advice, be rash, reckless or imprudent, or act in a senseless or absurd manner. The coding instructions in Appendix 2 give similar guidelines for each adjective pair.

To ensure accurate and unbiased coding, a second coder was used in a pretest to establish intercoder reliability on each of the variables before the author coded the entire sample herself. A pretest of slightly under ten percent of the total sample was used, with the same programs but different episodes than were later used in the sample. Holsti's formula for intercoder reliability was calculated and produced scores that ranged from 1.00 to .67.[1]

Data Analysis

To investigate the relationships occurring among the variables of Hypotheses 1 and 2, we will perform Pearson's r and one-way analysis of variance, first with decade as the independent variable and then with class as the independent measure, with two dependent variables, the scale for foolish portrayal and the proportion of jokes in which the male is the butt to see in which decade the changes in portrayal occur. We will test for an interaction between the independent variables using a 2-way analysis of variance. Finally, we will use hierarchical regression to look at foolish portrayals, both in terms of the scale component and the proportion of jokes component, as a dependent variable potentially being influenced first by the decade in which the program aired and then by the class of the family in the program, controlling for the level of occupation of the father in the family and other variables.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

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[1] Specifically, the reliability scores for each variable were as follows: class of family =1.00, occupation of mother =1.00, occupation of father =1.00, wise to foolish three-point scale (collapsed from the original 5 points) word pair =.83, responsible to irresponsible word pair =1.00, competent to incompetent word pair =.67, sensible to buffoon word pair =.83, rational to irrational word pair =.67, smart to dumb word pair =.83, serious to silly word pair =.67, mature to childish word pair =.67, worthy of respect to worthy of ridicule word pair =.83, effective to ineffective word pair =.67.
For each of the six programs coded in the pretest, the teller of the joke and the butt of the joke variables were tested for reliability by comparing each response. For teller of joke in the first program, Holsti=.82, in the second program =.75, third program =.88, fourth program =.74, fifth program =.83, sixth program =.79, averaging to .80. The same strategy was used for the butt of the joke variable, with the following results: butt of the joke in the first program =.85, second program =.81, third program =.88, fourth program =.78, fifth program =.73, sixth program =.79, averaging to .81 for the butt of the joke variable. The code sheet and code book are found in Appendices 3 and 4, respectively.

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Univariate statistics show the distribution of scores in each of the ten word pair items. For each pair, the means are just below the neutral mark of 3, indicating that most portrayals of the father in the sample of domestic sitcoms were relatively neutral, but slightly more wise than foolish on the average (see Table 1). Therefore we see that when looking at the entire sample of 72 half-hour sitcoms collectively, on the whole, the father is generally not portrayed as particularly foolish. Furthermore, we have constructed a scale by adding the codes for each of the ten word pairs to form an overall foolishness of portrayal measure ranging from 10 to 50. The scale is highly reliable, with a Cronbach's alpha of .97. The mean for this scale, which stands to reason given how it was constructed, is also largely neutral but slightly skewed to the more wise measures. On the average, there are about 27 jokes per episode which involve the father in some way . Finally, the average number of jokes that involve the father in which he is also the butt of the joke is 45% (see Table 1). This variable will be referred to as "the proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt" throughout the discussion.

---TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE---

The majority of families in the sample of sitcoms coded were middle class, about 60%, while there were approximately equal percentages of upper class and working class families. All of the fathers in the sample worked, with slightly more, about 59%, holding down blue or pink collar jobs than white collar. The distribution of decades in which the shows in the sample aired originally demonstrates the relative difficulty in obtaining programs from the 1950s and the 1980s. Most of the programs coded were from the 1990s and 1960s. Finally, the Fox network and Nickelodeon provided most of the programs for the research from their daily program offerings, while various other channels and video rentals allowed access to between five and ten percent of the sample each (see Table 2).

---TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE---

The economic statistics of women in the workforce included in the analysis were total number of employed female citizens, median yearly income for all females in the population (which includes in the average all those who had no income as making zero dollars per year), and the percent of the female population that is in the labor force (see Table 3). Because the variables were so highly correlated, we were concerned with the problem of multicollinearity and therefore converted them to standard scores and used them to form an index. The reliability coefficient for the index, called "female employment statistics," was .9973. Therefore, this index variables was used in subsequent data analysis.

---TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE---

Hypothesis Tests

Pearson correlation coefficients were used to test Hypothesis 1, which predicted that the more women gain economic power in the society over time, the more likely family sitcoms will be to portray fathers foolishly (see Table 4). To test whether time in which the sitcom was produced was, indeed, positively associated with the two dimensions of foolish portrayals, the scale created from the foolishness word pairs and the proportion of jokes involving the father in which he is the butt of the humor were correlated not only with the decade in which the program was introduced and shown, but also with the extra media index variable of actual national statistics showing women's presence in the labor force at the time. Table 4 provides support for Hypothesis 1, in that both the foolishness of portrayal scale and the proportion of jokes where the father is made fun of are highly and significantly correlated with the decade in which the show was produced as well as the index showing the actual employment levels of women in the workforce in the midst of the decade in question. For example, if the show was aired in the 1970s, we used economic statistics from 1974 to correlate with the two dimensions of foolishness, whereas for the 1990s we used data from 1993 (see Table 3). We should note that the extremely high correlations among the economic statistics themselves and the decade from which they were taken are logical, as they are inherently related to one another, and often calculated from one another's values (see Table 4).

---TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE---

To further investigate the relationships tested in Hypothesis 1, one-way analyses of variance were used to compare means from groups divided by decade in terms of the two dimensions of foolishness, the additive scale from word pair scores and the proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt. Table 5 further strengthens the support for Hypothesis 1. For both dimensions, the differences between the means of the groups are statistically significant at the strictest level, while the Bonferroni test suggests the differences lie between almost all possible combinations of groups, and largely between the decades that are farthest apart, such as the 1950s and the 1990s (see Table 5).

---TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE---

In order to determine whether an interaction was occurring between the independent variables of decade in which the program was originally aired and class of the sitcom family (the proposed independent variable for Hypothesis 2), a 2-way ANOVA was performed for both dependent variables. The results indicate that, as expected, decade and class do interact to influence the score on the foolishness of portrayal scale, with the F value being significant at the strictest possible level (F of the interaction=20.80, sig. of F=.00). However, in the case of the proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt, the interaction, at F= 2.02 and p=.12, is not significant.

Finally, we tested the first hypothesis using the multivariate statistical technique of hierarchical regression analysis separately for each dimension of the foolishness variable (see Table 6). The first portion of the table supports the hypothesis by demonstrating that even after controlling for measures which accounted for much of the variance in the scale of foolish portrayal dimension, such as class of the family, occupation of the father, and real-world employment statistics for women, the decade in which the show was produced was still a significant indicator of foolishness of portrayals at the .001 significance level. Furthermore, we see that the control variables mentioned here are positively related to foolishness of portrayal, as had been suggested in Hypothesis 2, so that working class fathers and fathers who have blue collar instead of white collar jobs are more likely to be portrayed foolishly (see Table 6). As is apparent in the second portion of Table 6, the results of multivariate regression analysis for the second dimension, proportion of jokes in which the father is made fun of, are equally compelling. In this case, the decade variable, when entered in the final block after the same control variables, also retains statistical significance. Therefore, the regression analysis provides more evidence in support of this dimension of Hypothesis 1 (see Table 6).

---TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE---

To test Hypothesis 2, with class of the family on the sitcom as the independent measure, we used one-way analyses of variance. Hypothesis 2 predicts that in sitcoms with working class families, the father will be more likely to be portrayed foolishly than in sitcoms with middle or upper class families. The one-way ANOVAs comparing the means of upper, middle, and working class families on the scale of foolishness of portrayal scale and the proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt variable provide further support for Hypothesis 2. Significant differences are found between the means of these groups at the strictest significance level, and the Bonferroni test reveals the differences exist between all possible combinations of groups. Thus, the working class families on television's sitcoms are significantly more likely to have the father score higher on the foolish scale as measured by the word pair scores and have substantially more jokes that are made at the expense of the father (see Table 7). Furthermore, the same results mentioned above regarding the test of an interaction between the independent variables apply here as well. Thus, class of the family and decade are significantly interacting in their association with the foolishness of portrayal scale, while they appear to be acting independently in their relationship with the proportion of jokes in which the father is made fun of on the program.

---TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE---

The second hypothesis, however, does not hold when controlling simultaneously for other variables in a hierarchical regression analysis. Table 8 shows that after entering such variables into the equation as decade in which the show aired, employment figures reflecting the status of women in the workforce, and occupation of the father on the sit-com, the class of the family portrayed on the show does not account for a significant amount of the variance for the proportion of jokes in which the father is made fun of dependent variable. Similarly, the regression analysis for the foolishness of portrayal scale dimension also in Table 8 reveals that the later shows aired by decade and the occupation of the father as blue collar are better predictors of the foolishness scale than is class of the family.

---TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE---

Although the regression findings in this instance somewhat weaken support for the second hypothesis, they, in part, support the logic set forth in creating the hypotheses. We predicted that the time period in which the show was produced would be the main predictor of foolishness, and the situation would merely be exacerbated when the family was working class. Results of the 2-way analyses of variance suggest class actually interacts with decade in which the show was originated to impact upon the foolishness of portrayal scale. Thus, for this dimension, we should not expect class of the family alone to be a significant predictor. Overall, we summarize the results by claiming both Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 are largely supported by statistical results.

DISCUSSION

Television Content as a Dependent Variable

This study is an important step toward illuminating the complex and difficult to ascertain relationship between what happens in the "real world" and what is presented as reality on television. By treating media content, specifically the portrayal of the father on domestic situation comedies, as a dependent variable and linking this content to actual statistical data which describe the economic power of women in the United States at the time the sitcom ran on prime time, the study makes great strides in investigating whether trends in the real world are reflected on fictional television shows and the manner in which they are addressed. The statistical support for the relationship between actual economic statistics for women in the workforce and the portrayal of fathers as being foolish or made fun of provides initial support for the notion of television programming indirectly addressing the changing social climate. Therefore, this study is unique in that it examines both economic statistics concerning representation and earnings of women in the labor force over time and portrayals of fathers on sitcoms over time, spanning five decades and bridging the gap between the real world and the televised world.

Due to Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) theory concerning factors that impact television content, we hypothesized that as women gained economic strength over time and shouldered increasing amounts of responsibility for "bringing home the bacon," men on sitcoms would increasingly be "fair game" for light-hearted criticism and joking. The study advances the theory by demonstrating how the factors Shoemaker and Reese suggest help dictate news content may also affect decision-making regarding content of entertainment programming, including personal opinions or predilections of the increasing number of women working on producing television programming, the routines of the television business in terms of competition and appealing to target audiences, and the necessity of providing programs which will simultaneously be entertaining in that we may perceive it to be more interesting than our own lives, but also is plausible so that we can relate to the characters and happenings on screen. The research provides an application of this theory, in that it investigates content of sitcoms, in terms of the portrayal of fathers on family-oriented shows, and also looks at the economic and occupational status of women at the same time as the programs were airing to test whether this societal trend had an impact on the presentation of family life on television, as suggested by the author's interpretation of the Shoemaker and Reese theory.

The Foolish Portrayal of Sitcom Fathers

The study is one of few attempts to quantify how fathers are portrayed on sitcoms, and therefore, was ground-breaking in its introduction of two dimensions designed to measure how foolish the father is presented in the program, the proportion of jokes involving the father in which he is the butt of the humor, and the measure on the additive foolishness of portrayal scale, which was comprised of a series of bipolar word pairs in which coders made judgments concerning how smart or dumb, serious or silly, effective or ineffective, mature or childish, etc. a father was deemed to be. A relatively large sample of family-centered sitcoms, totaling 36 hours of programming and including shows from the birth of television to the present, was content analyzed to measure these variables and determine whether, as suggested, more recent programs will present fathers more foolishly than television shows did in the past. Furthermore, due to the findings of a series of qualitative studies describing the way in which fathers are portrayed in sitcoms, we also hypothesized that working class families on television would be more likely to include a foolish father than non-working class, while maintaining that this is largely explained by the time period in which the show was produced. Therefore, we predicted association for the second hypothesis but did not suggest causation.

The results of the content analysis are largely supportive of the logic and theory presented. Economic statistics from the real world were compared with portrayals of fathers during the same decade in a Pearson correlation matrix to test Hypothesis 1 and were strongly associated with an increase in the proportion of jokes in which the father was the butt of the humor and an increase in the score on the foolishness of portrayal scale (see Table 4).

Furthermore, additional analyses shed light on the nature of the association between the era in which the show was produced and originally aired and the subsequent presentations of fathers, showing that sitcoms from the 1980s and 1990s are significantly more likely than previous shows to have the father be the butt of the joke and to portray him as foolish in terms of the additive scale (see Table 5). Interestingly, in the one-way ANOVA, the 1970s represent an aberration in an otherwise linear increase in the foolishness of portrayal. Perhaps this finding can be explained by a media backlash against the women's movement during this time period manifested in a desire among media executives and/or members of the public to return to more traditional gender roles in which the father is above criticism and ridicule. The association between time period and media content is further strengthened by multivariate analysis for both of the dimensions, in that decade predicts score on the foolishness of portrayal score and the joke proportion variable after controlling for many other powerful variables (see Table 6).

The Role of the Class Variable

In hypothesizing that working class families will be more likely to have a foolish father than non-working class families, we suggested that the relationship is not causal but rather is largely an artifact of decade in which the show was produced. This is somewhat supported by the results. One-way ANOVA results point to strong, significant differences between working class and middle and upper class families and how the fathers are portrayed, demonstrating that in the more well-to-do and higher status families, fathers are less likely to be shown as fools than in working class families (see Table 7). This finding supports the qualitative analyses of Cantor (1990; 1991) and Butsch (1992) which suggested the same relationship would surface in an investigation of family sitcoms, and is especially valid in that many of the programs used in their studies were not used in this study, yet the same relationship was found in this quantitative analysis.

However, in hypothesizing that this relationship would surface in the study, we were careful to suggest that we do not believe that class of the family is causing the portrayal of the father to be foolish. Therefore, this aspect of the study ran counter to Cantor and Butsch's work. Instead, we suggest that the time in which the program was produced is the causal factor, acting concurrently with the class variable. The multivariate results of the study support this assertion for only the score on the foolishness of portrayal scale in the 2-way ANOVA results. Furthermore, in the regression equation we can see that decade in which the show aired accounts for much more of the variance than class of the family, supporting the theory put forth (see Tables 6 & 8).

Contributions to the Literature

Although there is not a great deal of related literature existing, the results of this study complement and bolster claims made by Lichter, Lichter, and Rothman (1994) that prime time television today presents a situation in which "Mother knows best" more often than father, and presents quantitative evidence to support the suggestion that in "Home Improvement" a middle-class mother often gets the humorous best of the middle-class father. Furthermore, the study endorses and provides a practical application for the sociological theories of Wilkie (1993) which suggest that sharing the burden of bread winning for the family may be associated with a perception of losing advantages to which fathers thought themselves entitled, given the crucial importance of their role for the survival of the family. This study suggests that as men are becoming less likely to be the sole provider for their families, they are losing the advantage of being above criticism, a privilege which they used to enjoy. It is difficult to show that Mike Brady of "The Brady Bunch" is a fool when his paycheck sustains the family, yet Roseanne Connor of "Roseanne" presumably is equally able to provide for her family, and her husband, Dan, is thus fair game for jokes to made at his expense.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The convenient nature and rather small size of the sample are the main limitations of this study. In researching television shows from the 1950s to the present, the researcher is inevitably constrained by the availability of programs. Ideally one would have a probability sample of randomly selected episodes from randomly selected programs, yet we used each program available because there were so few. Equal numbers of shows from each decade would have strengthened results but were similarly difficult to achieve. Further research should attempt to use a probability sample and perhaps should investigate other ways in which power relationships between the sexes on television may be manifested or analyze other genres to provide further groundwork in connecting societal trends with television content as a dependent variable.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations for each paired word item measuring foolish portrayals, the overall foolishness of portrayal scale, and the distribution of jokes involving the father to particular characters in the program.

Variables	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Wise---foolish*	2.83	1.31	72
Smart---dumb*	2.64	1.31	72
Responsible---irresponsible*	2.40	1.30	72
Serious---silly*	2.67	1.13	72
Competent---inept*	2.65	1.33	72
Mature---childish*	2.75	1.32	72
Sensible---a buffoon*	2.71	1.47	72
Worthy of respect---worthy of ridicule*	2.69	1.29	72
Rational---irrational*	2.58	1.26	72
Effective---ineffective*	2.57	1.09	72
Foolishness of portrayal scale**	26.50	11.39	72
Number of jokes per episode involving the father	26.51	16.62	72
Proportion of jokes involving the father is which he is the butt***	45.02	22.14	72

*Responses were coded from 1 to 5 for adjective pairs, e.g., wise=1 and foolish=5.
**A scale was constructed in which the scores for each of the indicators of foolish portrayals in the form of word pairs were added. Cronbach's alpha= .97
***Responses for number of jokes per episode in which the father was the butt and total number of jokes per episode involving the father with compared to make a proportion.

Table 2. Percentages for class of the sitcom family, occupation of the mother, occupation of the father, decade the show aired, and network which offers it.

Variables	%
Class of sitcom family	
Upper	18.1
Middle	61.1
Working	20.8
	100.00%
Occupation of father	
White collar	41.7
Blue/Pink collar	58.3
	100.00%
Decade during which show aired	
1950s	9.7
1960s	25.0
1970s	18.1
1980s	11.1
1990s	36.1
	100.00%
Network on which show is now offered	
FOX	30.6
NICK	29.2
video rental	9.7
WTBS	8.3
WPIX	8.3
Channel 43	8.3
WWOR	5.6
	100.00%

Table 3. The changing economic and employment role of women in the U.S.*

	1954	1964	1974	1984	1993
Total number employed female citizens (millions)	19.71	25.40	33.42	49.21	58.41
Median yearly income for all people in the female population	$1,921	$2,512	$7,719	$13,663	$22,469
Percent of the total female population in the labor force	33.1%	36.5%	45.1%	53.2%	57.9%

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*As reported by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, published in years 1955, 1965, 1975, 1985, and 1995.

Table 4. Pearson correlation coefficients for time during which show aired, economic statistics concerning women in the work force, foolish portrayal scale and proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt, n=72.

Variables	2.	3.	4.
1. Decade in which show aired*	.99^{c}	.76^{c}	.71^{c}
2. Employment statistics for women index**		.78^{c}	.74^{c}
3. Foolishness of portrayal scale***			.84^{c}
4. Proportion of jokes in which father is butt****			

*Responses were coded: 1=1950s, 2=1960s, 3=1970s, 4=1980s, 5=1990s.
**Economic statistics as reported by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States from 1954, 1964, 1974, 1984 and 1993 and formed into an additive index, Cronbach's alpha=.99.
***Responses for each word pair were added to form a scale, where lower numbers indicate less foolish portrayals and higher numbers more foolish, Cronbach's alpha=.97.
****Responses for number of jokes per episode in which the sitcom father was the butt and total number of jokes involving the father per episode were compared to make a proportion.

^{a}p<.05 ^{b}p<.01 ^{c}p<.001

Table 5. One-way analyses of variance for the two dependent variables, the scale measuring foolishness of portrayals and the proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt by decade in which the program was aired, means and standard deviations.

Decade in which program was aired

Means (and SDs)

Dependent variables	'50s	'60s	'70s	'80s	'90s	F	df	sig.
Scale of foolishness of portrayal *	15.57	20.11	16.15	30.63	37.77			
	(6.65)	(6.07)	(7.34)	(9.07)	(5.31)	38.04	71	p<.001

The Bonferroni test indicates significant differences lie between the 1950s and 1980s, the 1950s and 1990s, the 1960s and 1980s, the 1960s and 1990s, the 1970s and 1980s, and the 1970s and 1990s at the .05 significance level.

*Responses for each word pair were added to form a scale, where lower numbers indicate less foolish portrayals and higher numbers more foolish, Cronbach's alpha=.97.

Proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt. **	26.92	34.09	21.71	57.85	65.26			
	(12.59)	(10.31)	(15.70)	(15.14)	(12.65)	34.73	71	p<.001

The Bonferroni test indicates significant differences lie between the 1950s and 1980s, the 1950s and 1990s, the 1960s and 1980s, the 1960s and 1990s, the 1970s and 1980s, and the 1970s and 1990s.

**Responses for number of jokes per episode in which the sitcom father was the joke and total number of jokes per episode were compared to make a proportion of jokes per episode which portrayed the father as the butt of the humor.

Table 6. Hierarchical regression analyses of occupation of father on sitcom, class description of family on sitcom, employment statistics for women, and **decade** during which program was aired on both dependent variables, N= 72.

Dependent variable= foolishness of portrayal scale*

Blocks of independent variables	Std. beta	R-square change	Total R-square	Adjusted R-square
1. Occupation of father (blue collar=1)	.70[c]	.49[c]	.49[c]	.49
2. Class description of family** (working=1)	.30[c]	.07[c]	.57[c]	.55
3. Employment statistics for women***	.54[c]	.18[c]	.75[c]	.74
4. Decade in which show aired	.60[c]	.04[c]	.79[c]	.77

Dependent variable= proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt

Blocks of independent variables	Std. beta	R-square change	Total R-square	Adjusted R-square
1. Occupation of father (blue collar=1)	.59[c]	.35[c]	.35[c]	.34
2. Class description of family** (working=1)	.33[b]	.09[b]	.43[c]	.42
3. Employment statistics for women***	.55[c]	.18[c]	.62[c]	.60
4. Decade in which show aired	.93[c]	.09[c]	.71[c]	.69

[a]p<.05, [b]p<.01, [c]p<.001

*Responses for each word pair were added to form a scale, where lower numbers indicate less foolish portrayals and higher numbers more foolish, Cronbach's alpha=.97.

Table 7. One-way analyses of variance for two dependent variables, scale measuring foolishness of portrayals and proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt by class of the family featured on the sitcom, means and standard deviations.

	Class of family on sitcom					
Dependent Variables	Upper	Middle Means (and SDs)	Working	F	df	sig.
Scale of foolishness of portrayal*	15.46 (5.56)	25.64 (10.41)	38.60 (5.14)	24.34	71	p<.001

The Bonferroni test indicates significant differences lie between all groups at the .05 significance level.

*Responses for each word pair were added to form a scale, where lower numbers indicate less foolish portrayals and higher numbers more foolish, Cronbach's alpha=.97.

Proportion of jokes in which father is butt**	22.47 (14.78)	44.11 (18.67)	67.39 (14.71)	23.67	71	p<.001

The Bonferroni test indicates significant differences between all groups at the .05 significance level.

**Responses for number of jokes per episode in which the sitcom father was the joke and total number of jokes per episode were compared to make a proportion of jokes per episode which portrayed the father as the butt of the humor.

Table 8. Hierarchical regression analyses of decade during which program was aired, employment statistics for women, occupation of the father on the sitcom, and **class** description of family featured in sitcom on both dependent variables, N= 72.

Dependent variable= foolishness of portrayal scale*

Blocks of independent variables	Std. beta	R-square change	Total R-square	Adjusted R-square
1. Decade in which show aired	.80[c]	.64[c]	.64[c]	.64
2. Employment statistics for women***	.21	.00	.65[c]	.64
3. Occupation of father (blue collar=1)	.42[c]	.14[c]	.78[c]	.77
4. Class description of family** (working=1)	.06	.00	.79[c]	.77
Dependent variable= proportion of jokes in which the father is the butt				
1. Decade in which show aired	.79[c]	.63[c]	.63[c]	.63
2. Employment statistics for women***	-.15	.00	.63[c]	.62
3. Occupation of father (blue collar=1)	.30[c]	.07[c]	.70[c]	.69
4. Class description of family** (working=1)	.07	.00	.71[c]	.69

[a]p<.05 [b]p<.01 [c]p<.001

*Responses for each word pair were added to form a scale, where lower numbers indicate less foolish portrayals and higher numbers more foolish, Cronbach's alpha=.97.

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Appendix 1

A list of the programs used in the content analysis and the decade in which they were categorized due to their original air date on prime time television.

Program	Decade
I Love Lucy	1950s
The Trouble with Father	1950s
The Nanny and the Professor	1950s
The Dick Van Dyke Show	1960s
The Addams Family	1960s
Bewitched	1960s
The Munsters	1960s
Newhart	1970s
The Partridge Family	1970s
Welcome Back, Kotter	1970s
Brady Bunch	1970s
The Hogan Family	1980s
Married with Children	1980s
Step By Step	1990s
Roseanne	1990s
Home Improvement	1990s
The Simpsons	1990s

Running head: INSIDE THE ADVERTISING AND PR INTERNSHIP

Inside the Advertising and Public Relations Internship

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Inside the Advertising and Public Relations Internship

Abstract

The importance of internships in the education and future careers of advertising and PR students is well established. Although previous research confirms the benefits and characteristics of internships, this study investigated the proposition that certain patterns of assumptions, attitudes, and behaviors are characteristic of successful internships. To examine this proposition, the author conducted interviews with interns and their supervisors, and analyzed the data qualitatively, seeking descriptive categories. The patterns emerging from the data provide insights into how the participants work together to accomplish a successful internship.

Interns and Their Supervisors:

Patterns of Attitudes and Expectations

Internships have become increasingly important as a means for advertising and public relations students to make the transition from college to career. The "deciding factor" for most entry-level jobs is relevant work experience or an internship (Rowland, 1994, p. F15). As a result, "nearly all journalism schools and departments assist students in locating field experience in some way" (Basow & Byrne, p. 48). Similarly, it is clear why the percentage of journalism graduates who have completed internships has reached almost 80% (Kosicki & Becker, 1995).

An extensive body of research, conducted in a variety of professional disciplines, has established the beneficial outcomes resulting from a good internship. For students, these benefits include "real world" experience; improved prospects for obtaining entry-level jobs (Horowitz, 1996; Perlmutter & Fletcher, 1996); opportunities to connect theory and practice (Basow & Byrne, 1993; Verner, 1993); the acquisition of professional attitudes and behaviors, interpersonal skills, and the ability to work independently (Campbell & Kovar, 1994); and greater focus on a career path (Perlmutter & Fletcher). Other benefits presumed to accrue to students include having their skills and employability assessed by practitioners; and obtaining mentors, networking and job contacts (Basow & Byrne; Verner).

For employers, internships offer a low-risk opportunity to screen and evaluate prospective employees (Horowitz, 1996; Kaplan, 1994; Krasilovsky & Lendt, 1996), an extra set of hands at minimal cost (Kaplan; Farinelli & Mann, 1994), exposure to fresh ideas and thinking (Kaplan), and the opportunity to allow "junior-level employees to hone their supervising skills" (Farinelli & Mann, p. 36).

The characteristics of beneficial and successful internships also seem to be reasonably well understood. For instance, the literature suggests students will more likely have a positive experience if they establish goals and possess accurate expectations regarding what to expect (Basow & Byrne, 1993; Verner, 1993). The literature also indicates that students are more likely to have successful internships if they demonstrate initiative (Basow & Byrne), are academically prepared (Basow & Byrne; Campbell & Kovar, 1994), are provided with an experience that approximates that of a full-time employee (Verner), and perform low amounts of "busy work" (Campbell & Kovar; Krasilovsky & Lendt, 1996).

This paper examines the internship experience from the perspective of its two principal participants, interns and their supervisors. The data support earlier findings and conclusions regarding the benefits and characteristics of successful internships. However, this study addresses a neglected but significant issue that may help answer questions regarding the quality of an internship experience: that certain patterns of attitudes, expectations, and behaviors occurring between interns and their supervisors are associated with a successful internship. While there is much research on the outcomes and characteristics of internships, far less investigated is the process of internship itself.

To accomplish its purpose, the study addressed the following research questions: (1) What do interns and their supervisors believe are the most important goals and outcomes of an internship? (2) What is the importance or relevance of academic preparation, and how is it related to a successful internship? (3) What are the patterns of attitudes, beliefs, and practices that lead to a successful internship experience? (4) What are the underlying assumptions and difficulties associated with interns demonstrating initiative by finding things to do and asking questions? (5) In what ways do interns and their supervisors believe the internship experience could be improved?

Method

During August and September of 1996, the author conducted a series of "long interviews" (McCracken, 1988) with the on-site supervisors of advertising and public relations (PR) interns. The author, who was serving as a JMC program's advertising and PR internship coordinator, then conducted interviews with the interns themselves.

Description of the Sample

The sample for this study included nine, for-credit supervisor/intern dyads, with five in advertising and four in PR. The advertising intern supervisors included an ad agency production manager, media director, traffic manager, and account manager, all representing the same, large regional ad agency; and the group sales manager for a theme park. Only the traffic manager and production manager did not have college degrees, although the production manager reported having earned more than 100 hours of college course work. Years of experience ranged from three to almost 40; only the sales manager had never supervised an intern in the past.

All the advertising interns had completed introductory courses in journalism and mass communication, and advertising; however, the account services intern had completed all her advertising courses, lacking only the capstone. This was the first internship for all but one of the interns, and all were either 21 or 22 years old. Only the theme park intern received monetary compensation for her internship.

The PR supervisors included an assistant director of university sports information, a municipal water utility business manager, a radio station promotions director, and the manager of corporate communications for a large regional restaurant chain. All hold college degrees, with one respondent holding a master's. Professional experience ranged from one year to more than 12. Only the sports information director had never supervised an intern in the past.

All the PR interns had completed introductory courses in journalism and mass communication, and PR. Three of the interns were lacking only the capstone course. The students ranged in age from 21 to 24 years, and this was the first internship for all four. All received compensation, with the exception of the radio promotions intern.

Research Procedures

The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to one hour and were audiotaped. The author then transcribed and analyzed the data, following the five-stage analytical procedure offered by McCracken (1988). The data consisted of more than 200 pages of text. A qualitative approach was deemed most appropriate for this investigation due to its focus on isolating and defining the categories of assumptions, expectations, and attitudes respondents use to organize their view of the internship experience. Clearly, a qualitative approach offered the most direct access to discovering how respondents perceive these often hidden and subjective categories and the shared meanings among them.

The research findings are presented, with sample quotations (McCracken, 1988) that best capture the underlying categories of thought and meaning. Because of the sensitive nature of the data, respondents are rarely identified in such a way as to reveal their identities.

Findings

1. What do interns and their supervisors believe are the most important goals and outcomes of an internship?

Interns and supervisors expressed similar beliefs regarding the goals and outcomes of an internship, with few differences among them. Although these beliefs generally mirrored those suggested in the literature, interesting and insightful variations emerged from the data.

"Real world" experience. All the respondents recognized the importance of the intern gaining "real world" experience from the internship, including technical job skills. However, many interns reported a newfound appreciation for the interpersonal and communication skills required of the professional in the workplace. As one PR intern observed, "You've got to establish a good relationship with the people that you work with. Or else all the pamphlets and brochures and newsletters and media guides and press releases you do . . . they really don't matter anything if you can't get along with people."

An ad agency intern was impressed by the amount of preparation account services representatives go through, prior to meeting with clients.

> One time they were just sitting there, they were discussing between what actors did they want in a commercial. . . . And, just for this little presentation, he had this whole little spiel, and she was just mesmerized watching this guy do his stuff. . . . I would never have thought to do that.

While gaining "real world" job skills is an important outcome of an internship, tangible evidence of these skills is equally important. "We're trying not to give them all the scutt work, so to speak. And give them a meaningful situation where when they leave [the agency] and, perhaps, are interviewing somewhere, they've got something to show" [agency media director].

Employer benefits. Employers do benefit from "free work" performed by interns. However, when supervisors invest time and effort in the student's development and learning experiences, there is less of a benefit accruing to them from the work interns perform.

> Well you know, the cynical, the quick, easy answer is free work. But that's not entirely true because you spend time with the intern that you might otherwise be spending on fruitful work. That's not a real loss, because you do gain real work from them. So there's certainly a trade-off there, if nothing else. [ad agency production manager]

As the literature suggests, professionals can benefit from exposure to interns. However, while the literature suggests this is primarily a result of exposure to fresh ideas and thinking, one ad agency supervisor suggested that another benefit is exposure to "old ideas." He described his belief in the following way:

> . . . the agency personnel, because they've been immersed in the quote real world, can do well to come up for air now and then and . . . remember what the other side had to offer. It kind of refreshes people and their education. What the academic environment brings to a person. And it isn't just wide-eyed idealism that they're being brought back to, it's the groundings. . . . In the real world you're just trying to get through the day. And make it all work. So I think it benefits the agency people, and in turn the agency, just by having exposure to the students.

2. What is the importance or relevance of academic preparation, and how is it related to a successful internship?

All the supervisors recognized the importance of interns having some academic preparation, as did most of the interns. Interestingly, several important implications regarding academic preparation emerged from the data.

Computer knowledge. Perhaps the single most important category of academic preparation is computer knowledge and skills. All the interns in the sample spent substantial amounts of time working on computers, most performed desktop publishing tasks, and Adobe's PageMaker was mentioned in almost every interview. As one PR intern recalled: "There were so many . . . things that I felt that I was very much prepared for. But I'd say the computer was most of all because I was the only intern that really knew how to do any of that." Similarly, an advertising intern observed that "When I told [supervisor] I knew PageMaker, she said, 'Oh my gosh! Oh my gosh! Well, here. I want you to do this, I want you to do that.'"

Preparation requirements differ by type of internship. Respondents revealed that the importance of academic preparation differs substantially by type of internship. For example, in ad agency media and account services internships, an understanding of both advertising and media planning concepts and terminology is very important. "We don't want them to look at us funny when we say gross rating points, and stuff like that," as one agency supervisor remarked. Unfortunately, this supervisor's intern also recognized that she could have been more prepared for her internship. "If I'd taken media last semester or the semester before. . . , I would have understood more. I would have known which questions to ask. . . . I mean, I was like, 'well, I've never done this stuff, can you help me?'"

For PR interns, writing skills is a key area of academic preparation. As one intern observed, "You know, I've done a bill stuffer. I've just written all the articles for the annual report. Writing comes up every day. I think the writing is very important." Likewise, when asked what students should be prepared for, a PR supervisor responded: "rule number one, drive home writing, writing, writing."

Finally, students who interned in ad agency traffic and production departments reported that their course work did little to prepare them for their internships. However, some prior course work is believed to be important by every supervisor interviewed. "If they're totally green, don't have a clue, it's pretty hard to put them to anything really fruitful for either of you" [agency production manager].

Academic preparation and opportunities. Perhaps the most significant finding from this study is that academic preparation leads to more and better opportunities on most internships. As the ad agency account manager explained, "When an intern comes in and already has that under their belt, the concept or the grasp of the concept, we can really move forward, and they can start moving on client projects almost immediately." In contrast, a PR supervisor observed that "I stopped giving some projects to interns when I found that it was more effort for them to write something and for me to re-write it . . . they became filers. They became label-stuffers and errand-runners."

3. What are the patterns of attitudes, beliefs, and practices that lead to a successful internship experience?

Respondents identified a wide variety of attitudes, beliefs, and practices that are associated with a successful internship. Important to interns were the managerial styles and skills of their supervisors, the characteristics of the tasks they were given to perform, and other supervisor behaviors. Both groups of respondents were consistent in their identification of key attitudes.

Supervisor management skills. The data indicate that good internship supervisors are simply good managers. They provide specific direction and examples, some autonomy and independence, positive and constructive feedback, and the physical and personal resources needed to accomplish the work. Perhaps the most important category of supervisor management skills, however, is the value of supervisors providing feedback, or work-related information, to their interns. As one PR intern observed, "She always let me know where I stood, how I was doing. And if she thought there was something I needed to work on, she'd let me know. I think that's really important."

In contrast, the lack of feedback appears to contribute to a sense of isolation and dissatisfaction for interns. An advertising intern described her experience in the following way:

> I didn't know what was going on, if they liked me, or if I was just a little gopher, faxer, filer kind of thing. . . . I didn't hear bad or good either way. There was no real "you're doing a good job," or "you're a waste of space, get out of here." . . . I would have liked a little more interaction, to just kind of give me direction.

Real world tasks and projects. Students recognize the value of being given real world, technical tasks on which to practice and hone their skills. A PR intern described his work in the following way, obviously appreciative: "I wasn't working for somebody, handling her paper work, stapling papers, making copies. I was doing actual work. I feel lucky that I got the opportunity to really get hands-on experience. . . ."

A related finding is that interns are like any other employees—they want to work on whole projects, see them through from beginning to end, and see an impact from their work. Some supervisors recognized this, and either gave their interns complete projects, or helped them understand how their tasks contributed to the completion of a whole piece of work. As a PR intern explained, "It wasn't just I did my part and that was it. I got to see the whole process from beginning to end. . . . she really did a good job of including me on all aspects of the assignments."

Going to meetings. The value of interns sitting in on meetings—and in some cases, simply following supervisors around to observe their interactions with co-workers—was recognized by both supervisors and interns. One agency intern observed that attending meetings gave her the opportunity to see the "politics" of the agency environment. Another praised her supervisor for taking her to meetings and, more importantly, giving her the opportunity to participate.

> She did really good . . . including me in a lot of stuff, like she would bring me to meetings and stuff like that. She would let me actually participate in meetings, like I got to say what I thought about stuff. I thought that was really cool. Because I would see other interns at meetings, and they would be just sitting there, not saying anything or whatever. And I actually got to say stuff.

Adapting the internship. Good supervisors take the time to learn the interests and goals of their interns and adapt the internship to these interests. They recognize that an internship should not be a "one-size-fits-all" experience. One important way ad agency supervisors accomplish this is by circulating their interns around the agency. As one agency supervisor remarked,

> If they . . . know where they want to go, I will talk to a supervisor and send them in there. . . . I've had a lot who want to write copy, and I'll send them in there, and they'll write some headlines and stuff. It really depends on the individual student.

Learning from everything. Across all the interviews, supervisors and interns consistently emphasized the importance of interns accepting any task as a potential learning experience. An ad agency supervisor described the importance of "taking the attitude of, what can I learn from this? From this stack of filing I'm doing, there's something in it for me." Supervisors who have this attitude also seem to encourage their interns to do so as well.

> I encouraged her in the beginning, don't think you have to willy-nilly file all this stuff without looking at it and getting a sense of what it's about. Sit there and read those purchase orders. Read these work orders. See how this communication goes on. [agency production manager]

4. What are the underlying assumptions and difficulties associated with interns demonstrating initiative by finding things to do and asking questions?

There is an almost universal assumption among interns and their supervisors that interns should demonstrate the same kind of initiative expected from new employees by finding things to do and asking questions. As one ad agency supervisor commented, "I think they need to come to work ready to work, . . . whenever there's any downtime ask, 'what else can I do?' . . . Do what is asked of you. See if there's any more, ask for feedback." An ad agency intern concurred: "You've just got to stay busy, it's the best thing to do. Go around to everybody, don't get stuck in one spot."

However, while unaddressed by supervisors, many of the interns identified difficulties they faced when attempting to keep busy. One of the most common is simply related to a lack of technical knowledge, which, not surprisingly, can produce a sense of apprehension. For instance, an ad agency intern recalled that

> [On a previous internship] I wanted to just file and type and that's all I wanted to do. And I kind of felt like that this time, like I'd ask for stuff to do, and she'd say something or whatever, and I'd be afraid to work on it.

She added that "Fear gets involved a lot of time. I don't want to do something and mess it up. I'd rather not touch something and find something to file. . . ."

Although they did not explicitly recognize this as a problem, supervisors reported a number of strategies that can help interns stay busy. One PR supervisor reported setting up a "to do" box, containing materials needing to be filed, background research to be done on stories, contacts to be made. The intern was able to return to this box and find things to do when she wasn't busy on other tasks. A successful strategy on many ad agency internships is for supervisors to let others in the agency know they could, on occasion, borrow their interns. Such a practice has the added benefit of getting the intern into other departments.

Supervisors and interns also agreed that it is important for students to ask questions. As one supervisor put it, students need to "not be afraid to ask questions so they are understanding the larger implications and the reasons, the policy reasons behind what's going on." Similarly, one ad agency intern offered this observation: ". . . the only thing you can do is just roam and ask questions. Otherwise, you're not going to learn anything."

Again, however, interns identified difficulties they faced when simply wanting to ask questions; difficulties of which supervisors seemed to be unaware. For example, interns hesitate to ask questions because they don't want to intrude on busy practitioners. As one agency intern observed, "If they're real busy, and they're kind of gripey, it's hard. . . ." A second difficulty interns face is fear of demonstrating a lack of competence. "The first thing you don't want to do is ask questions, and show that you're not up to par on anything or don't know what's going on" [PR intern].

A variety of strategies for overcoming these difficulties also emerged from the interviews. One strategy many interns employed was to establish good relationships with their supervisors and co-workers. As an advertising intern observed, ". . . you have to get to know everybody in the agency. Just so you can go up to them and say, 'can you help me with this?'" A rather unique strategy used by one agency intern for overcoming the problem of questioning busy workers was to offer them something of value in exchange.

> Well, if you don't have anything to do, and you see that a media person has a huge stack of stuff to put into the computer, say, "oh, I could do half of that at this computer." And then say, "oh, what was this number that we're typing in here?" That way, you're not taking away from what they're doing, but you're also getting something from it while you're working.

Finally, it would be helpful for prospective interns to remember what one intern discovered and concluded about questions and ad agencies. "Not everybody knows exactly what they're supposed to do anyway. And there were young people there . . . so they're still learning too. . . . So if you know something about a specific area, you can actually help someone out."

5. In what ways do interns and their supervisors believe the internship experience could be improved?

Interns and their supervisors identified several policy, activity, and behavior categories that they believe could lead to improvements in the internship process and experience.

What students should do. All the supervisors and most of the interns emphasized that students need to be aggressive about making their wants and needs known, and that supervisors will generally respond positively to this. As an agency supervisor remarked, regarding an account services intern who wanted to work in creative: "He has the desire to try when they have the time, or have something extra, to let him go down there. And he's going to get that opportunity, but I think it's only because he spoke up in the beginning."

In contrast, an agency intern lamented that she failed to speak up about wanting to attend meetings:

> . . . maybe I should have asked to sit in on meetings and stuff. But I was never invited to, either, so I didn't know if I was supposed to ask. I didn't want to get in the way. But

> usually what happened, everybody was hanging around, and they would all disappear. And nobody told me either way. . . . and I'd go, "well, I guess they're all in a meeting."

A consistent theme emerged from the interviews suggesting students frequently set the stage for physical and mental exhaustion resulting from the internship. Physical exhaustion occurs from simply working one and even two other jobs during the internship, as well as taking courses. Mental exhaustion results from the demands on interns, often from other employers. As one PR intern noted, "I mean I was exhausted. . . . In the beginning he [other boss] was really understanding, but toward the end, he'd kind of had it." An ad agency intern, who also took a course during her internship, described an especially harrowing summer.

> I was working three jobs this summer, I was working over 60 hours a week, and I got paid for 20 hours at [one employer], . . . and then I got whatever I got in tips at [a restaurant], and then I got nothing from [the internship]. Then I got fired from [the restaurant] because on Friday I had to work all three jobs. I was so tired that my manager at [the restaurant] fired me. Didn't like my attitude.

What employers can do. Not surprisingly, interns prefer to be paid, and there are several benefits that seem to result. Monetarily, several interns noted they would have been unable to do their unpaid internships if they hadn't been receiving funds from parents. Others observed that payment would have enabled them to take time off from other jobs. In addition, interns suggested psychological implications regarding the payment issue.

> When you're paid for an internship . . . even though you don't make as much money as a regular employee, you can feel like you're on the same level as everybody else. . . . At the same time, I don't know, it just kind of gives you value to the position . . . you feel that your internship's of more value [PR intern].

In contrast, an ad agency intern concluded that her unpaid status was something of a joke:

> They'd . . . say something like, "aren't you getting paid enough to do it?" And I'd say, "I'm coming in here to talk about my pay raise." . . . And they'd laugh. It was kind of a joke, but it really wasn't all that funny when you think about it.

However, although interns are dissatisfied with not being paid, they seem to accept it as part of "paying their dues." One ad agency intern explained it in the following way: "It's not like it changed my mind. Just let me have another one, and it's probably not going to be paid either. But that's just something I . . . heard from many people. Just do it, work for free for a couple of years, and then it will pay off."

What universities should do. Several supervisors noted that they want continuing interaction with universities, and need them to recognize their needs when it comes to the placement of interns. As one PR supervisor noted:

> One of the things that I want to do is set up things in advance, I mean, like right now, fall's getting ready to start, and I don't have anybody lined up. By the time the kids get back, and we get somebody identified, we're already how many weeks into the semester? . . . By the time we get that initial ice-breaking period . . . over with, how much are they going to be able to accomplish?

Discussion

Goals and Outcomes

The findings suggest there are categories of real world experience that are important and relatively unrelated to mere technical job skills. Although Campbell and Kovar (1994) note that interpersonal and communication skills are valuable internship outcomes, students' lack of appreciation for these skills at the outset suggests they could be emphasized more in college courses. Similarly, while such skills are, no doubt, emphasized in many advertising and PR capstone courses, most students perform their internships prior to taking the capstone.

That an internship produces tangible evidence of skills obtained (e.g., samples of work for portfolios) represents an issue both supervisors and interns should consider when planning an internship. However, this category is related to the career focus issue. While internships in ad agency production and traffic departments, for instance, may not produce tangible evidence of technical skills, they are especially valuable for helping students focus their career plans.

Employer benefits. The findings from this study support the conclusion that employers can benefit from the "free work" performed by interns. However, and related to the issue of paying interns, employers and supervisors are legally obligated (Kaplan, 1994) to provide training in exchange for interns' work if they don't pay them. That some supervisors recognize this issue is a conclusion supported by the present findings; although these findings are, of course, not generalizable to a broader population of supervisors.

Supervisors and their co-workers also seem to benefit from exposure to interns, although an interesting category of this benefit emerged from the data. While many supervisors probably do benefit from exposure to the "fresh ideas and thinking" interns bring to the workplace—exposure to "old ideas," the principles and foundations of professional advertising and PR practice—would seem to be at least as valuable.

Academic Preparation

Although the literature emphasizes that interns need to be academically prepared, the findings of this study provide a much more detailed examination of this issue. For instance, the importance of computer and desktop publishing skills, especially for advertising and PR interns, had not been noted prior to this study. The finding that there is substantial variation in the importance of academic preparation for various types of internships suggests students should match internship opportunities with their stage of study. As examples, advertising internships in agency creative, media, and account services departments should come later in the program, or at least following the appropriate courses. Likewise, PR students can probably tackle some internships earlier, but internships that offer writing and desktop publishing opportunities should probably come later in the program. In contrast, advertising internships in agency traffic and production departments are probably appropriate following the principles course.

The finding that academic preparation leads to better and more real work assignments is one of the most valuable of this study. Both interns and supervisors stand to gain the most when interns can be assigned real work tasks. In addition, this finding also emphasizes the importance of students matching specific internships with their level of skills and academic preparation.

Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices

The finding that good intern supervisors possess effective interpersonal management styles and skills is valuable, but not surprising. More significant in this category of attitudes and behaviors is the importance of providing interns with positive and constructive feedback. Interns, like other employees, need supervisor evaluation. This finding is well documented in the classic literature on work satisfaction (see, for example, Hackman & Lawler, 1971; Maher & Pierson, 1970; Redding, 1972). However, interns are especially needful, because of their newcomer status, of work-related information that (a) reduces job ambiguity and (b) helps them understand work processes. This second issue is related to the finding regarding the importance of interns being given responsibility for accomplishing complete tasks, as well as the importance of attending meetings with their supervisors.

The literature on internships clearly suggests the importance of students taking a proactive role in the shaping of their internship experiences (Basow & Byrne, 1993; Verner, 1993). The findings from this study indicate that some supervisors also recognize the value of this and attempt to adapt the internship to the wants and needs of their interns. However, and related to the finding regarding aggressiveness, interns need to make these desires known.

Staying Busy and Asking Questions

Basow and Byrne (1993) note that interns should be encouraged to ask questions and volunteer for assignments. Prior to the results of this study, one might have assumed this was necessary because interns didn't know how important these behaviors are. The findings reported here, however, suggest that interns should be encouraged to find things to do and ask questions because it is difficult. Similarly, the strategies employed by both supervisors and interns to overcome these problems—a "to do" box, lending interns to others for short-term assignments, establishing good relationships with supervisors and co-workers, and offering something of value in exchange—represent a valuable addition to the literature on internships.

Improving the Internship Experience

The findings reported here suggest that many advertising and PR interns may be cheating themselves of many of the benefits of an internship simply by adding 20 or more hours of work per week on top of a normally demanding schedule. Students should recognize this problem and find ways to prepare for the consequences of tackling what amounts to a second or even third part-time job. This issue is related to the one that follows—paying interns.

It would be convenient to conclude that all companies should pay interns. However, if employers are meeting their responsibilities in their relationship with interns—providing guidance and training that primarily benefit the student (Kaplan, 1994)—they are under no legal obligation to pay them. Likewise, the findings here suggest that students are quite willing to accept unpaid internships. On the other hand, even token payment appears to lead to many positive consequences, such as reduced physical and mental stress for students and a more positive outlook toward the value of the internship.

The findings regarding what supervisors need universities to do are informative. For instance, JMC internship coordinators should recognize the continuing needs of employers and the time-frame within which they are working. Advance planning for internships by all three participants—university, student, and employer—could, in fact, help resolve other issues related to this study's findings. Working together, internship coordinators and supervisors could establish appropriate pools of candidates two or three semesters in advance. Thus, students could be planning well in advance to take internships at appropriate stages of their course work, and supervisors would have a consistent, qualified pool from which to select their interns. Such a strategy might also help eliminate the problem of students selecting internships for which they are unprepared, simply in the rush to get the experience on their resumes.

Conclusions

Perlmutter and Fletcher (1996) note that one purpose for conducting their study of internships was to "raise the status of internship research" (p. 6). The author of the present study also hoped to accomplish this purpose, but was motivated by at least one other consideration. If we, as educators, are to continue encouraging students to do internships, then we are also obligated to help prepare them to make the most of the experience.

Perlmutter and Fletcher (1996) also note that their study of interns "did not include the other points of the internship triangle: school personnel and mass media employers" (p. 17). This study has been an attempt to respond to this issue by simultaneously tapping two points of the triangle through a qualitative lens wielded by the third. Thus, and through the eyes of its principal participants, patterns of expectations, attitudes, and behaviors emerge that help explain how successful internships are accomplished. Educators, for instance, might consider placing more emphasis on interpersonal communication skills in their courses, especially from the perspective of the practicing professional. Students might give additional thought to what type of internship they want to do and whether or not they are prepared. Internship supervisors might consider the importance of providing feedback to their interns, and recognize that, while they expect interns to look for things to do and ask questions, they face very real difficulties in their efforts to meet these expectations.

Future research on advertising and PR internships could address several worthwhile topics. The present sample, for instance, while suitable for qualitative analysis, only touches on the population of potential internship sites. What types of internship sites are most likely to offer which category of beneficial outcomes for interns? Similarly, students often do internships in non-traditional settings. For example, in the present study an advertising student did an internship in the group sales department of a theme park. What are the benefits, and risks, associated with such internships? Finally, from a policy perspective, how are we to resolve the troubling issue that many students may not be able to afford internships, given the fact that many are unpaid and clearly require forgoing other income opportunities? Issues such as these suggest that the internship is a topic well worth the attention of JMC scholars interested in helping students make the most of their educations.

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"Digital Imaging Skills and the Hiring and Training of Photojournalists"

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ABSTRACT

“Digital Imaging Skills and the Hiring and Training of Photojournalists”

This paper, based on a national survey of newspaper photo editors, details the degree of technological change in newspaper photography. It looks at the importance placed on digital imaging and photography competencies, and it examines the implications for the training and hiring of journalists. It concludes that the shift from chemical to digital processing has led to a relative lack of concern among photo editors about the need for chemical darkroom skills. Many journalism programs, however, continue to focus on those skills. It finds that new technical skills, such as the use of digital cameras and the web, are growing in importance. Skills that reflect convergence of photo jobs with others within the newsroom, such as design and graphics, are growing in importance. But photo editors say the key skill that reflects cross-media convergence – video – is unimportant now and only slightly more important for the near future.

"Digital Imaging Skills and the Hiring and Training of Photojournalists"

The technology of newspaper photography has changed dramatically in the last decade – from predominantly chemical to predominantly digital processes. The technology used in educating prospective newspaper photographers has changed somewhat less dramatically – many journalism programs continue to focus on chemical rather than digital processing. Is that discrepancy a cause for concern? Are there implications for traditional as well as new media jobs in an age of digital journalism and increasing media convergence?

This paper, which is based on a national survey of daily newspaper photo editors, details the degree of technological change in newspaper photography. It looks at the importance placed on digital imaging and photography competencies, and it examines the implications for the training and hiring of journalists.

Background

Digital imaging burst on the newsroom scene in the early '90s, but its roots in the news production process are deeper. In the early 1980s, about the time National Geographic was electronically realigning the pyramids for a cover, newspaper pagination pioneers were starting to digitize photos for full-page assembly and output.[1] Electronic picture desks were used throughout the '80s by the wire services, but they did not become common in daily newspapers until 1990. Early that year, the Associated Press announced that it would make a digital darkroom system the standard receiver for Photostream, its new high-speed digital photo transmission system.[2] By early 1992, AP Leaf Picture Desks had been installed at nearly all of the 1,000 AP photo clients.[3]

In a parallel development, many papers began using relatively inexpensive off-the-shelf hardware and software, such as Macintosh computers and Photoshop, for processing of staff photos as well as the image files received on Leaf desks. Many of those images were passed to pagination systems or to desktop computers loaded with page-design software such as Quark Xpress. The shift to all-digital handling of photos at many papers raised questions about storage and indexing of image files, and by 1994, a growing list of vendors offered digital archiving hardware and software.[4]

On the shooting end, electronic cameras and "still video" cameras were appearing at trade shows in the late '80s.[5] Wire services and newspapers experimented with digital cameras in the late '80s and early '90s, but cost and quality considerations largely restricted their use to coverage of high-profile news events, such as a presidential inauguration,[6] a Super Bowl or an Olympics.[7] A digital camera designed for photojournalists, the AP/Kodak NC2000, was introduced in 1994,[8] but its five-figure price tag kept it out of the hands of most news photographers. By early 1996, further development and increasing acceptance of digital cameras prompted Editor & Publisher's technology editor George Garneau to write that "digital photography is on its way."

How far digital photography – and other aspects of digital imaging – has progressed along that way is an important question for journalism educators. A related question is to what degree newspapers, through their hiring practices, are setting the boundaries of the answer. Anecdotal reports suggest that the technological shift in news photography is, if anything, as dramatic as other, more documented, changes, but the academic literature is largely silent about digital imaging, except for studies about ethical issues involved in manipulation of photo content.[9]

Passing comments in the trade press indicate that digital image processing is widespread,[10] and comments such as Garneau's suggest that the use of digital cameras is increasing, but more systematic data are needed to provide a sense of how quickly and with what implications for hiring and training.

Impact on journalism education

Every time a technological change makes its way into newsrooms, journalism educators ask themselves several fundamental questions. The first is whether they can keep up.[11] Is it too costly? Is there enough space to house new labs? Are faculty prepared to teach the new tools? For resource reasons, it is little wonder that many schools continue to use chemical darkrooms in photojournalism classes. The issue is whether that is enough.

The second question is whether journalism schools should keep up. Is it necessary to adopt the new technology, or can the same concepts be presented using the old technology? To what degree should the new technology be emphasized in the curriculum? Who should take primary responsibility for technical training, schools or newspapers?[12]

Throughout the 1980s and early '90s, educators have asked these questions about VDTs, desktop publishing, database services and computer assisted reporting.[13]

The pattern seems to be that after a lag, many journalism programs find a way to purchase the new tools and integrate them into their curricula. Today, most of the discussion centers on multimedia, but at many schools, digital imaging is unfinished business. A 1994 study by Birkhead reported some evidence that photojournalism courses might be in danger of elimination because of administrators' unwillingness or inability to finance digital technology. But a study by Smith and Mendelson in 1996 found no strong trend toward reducing such courses.[14]

Opinion varies widely on the need for digital darkroom software in the academy, not to mention digital cameras. Two posts from a recent thread on JOURNET, the journalism education internet list, capture the range of opinion:

> "I grew up with the `magic of the darkroom,' and my students still seem to enjoy it. I'm convinced that learning photography through traditional methods makes students more aware of the entire process and will eventually make them better photographers. But budgetary pressures may still force us to go completely digital."[15]
>
> "Learn the new medium. Digital photography is easier, faster, and in the long run better than chemical. If you can afford it, junk the chemical process as fast as you can. I'll bet the early photography classes taught you that you can't take a proper picture until you have learned the art of mixing burnt umber with linseed oil so that you know what color is all about."[16]

Ken Irby, a photography associate at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, said it "most definitely" is important for journalism schools to teach digital processing. "The world and, more importantly, the industry are changing rapidly," he said. "The academy must introduce and teach new learning, or to paraphrase Eric Hoffer, our students will find themselves beautifully equipped to deal with a world that no longer exists."[17] A technology such as the digital camera might require additional training. Irby pointed out that shooting with a digital camera is more akin to shooting color transparencies than it is to shooting with the far-more-common, and more forgiving, color negatives. Consequently, photographers who use digital cameras must pay greater attention to correct exposure and lighting.

Whether an emphasis on technology training is good or bad as far as journalism education is concerned is a fair question. It is difficult to ask the question intelligently, though, without having first answered several others:

> How widespread is the use of the technology in the industry that most of these students plan to enter?
>
> How important is it for photojournalists to be conversant with digital technologies? Another way of asking the question is: How vital do the people who hire photojournalists think the new technical skills are?

Hiring standards and convergence

There are indications that technological know-how is becoming a de facto hiring criterion for many newsroom positions. A 1996 Dow Jones Newspaper Fund survey of 489 newspapers found that more than 85 percent said computer skills were either very or somewhat important in assessment of job applicants for reporting, editing and design positions. The study found that internships, work for a campus publication, a degree in journalism or mass communications, and, to a lesser degree, good grades also were important.[18] Another recent study reported that although managing editors rated pagination experience relatively unimportant when asked what skills future journalists need, job advertisements provided a different picture -- they placed considerable emphasis on pagination know-how.[19] The head of a newsroom training firm said recently that writing, editing and design skills should be taught first but that computer page design technology "has become a tool of the trade and should be better taught by our colleges and universities."[20]

Since the advent of computers in newsrooms, it has become increasingly difficult to disentangle the tools used by members of the journalism profession from the nature of the work that they do. A copyeditor, for example, is defined by a traditional set of competencies, such as word editing, headline-writing and page-layout skills, and, increasingly, by whether he or she knows how to use Quark Xpress.[21] As trade journal ads clearly indicate, graphics professionals are closely associated with the software and systems that make newspaper graphics practical in a digital age. The kinship between photography and technology has long been the closest among newsroom specialties. Indeed, as far back as the 1930s, newspaper photographers struggled to convince their newsroom colleagues that they were professionals rather than mere technicians;[22] some suggest that the struggle to convince reporters and editors that "picture people" are journalists too is not over yet.[23]

Digital technology may be forcing the issue. Some photographers and photojournalism teachers say that because digital imaging enables photographers to get out of the darkroom and into the newsroom, it will create opportunities for photo staff members to take their rightful place alongside reporters and editors.[24] The flip side of that argument is that the new technical demands of computer-based image-processing may make photographers appear to be even more specialized and even more out of touch.[25] Another issue on the horizon is one of control. Because digital imaging can be done in the newsroom, some photographers and photo editors have expressed concerns that photojournalism may be increasingly shaped by people who have little photo training.[26] This question has been raised in the context of online journalism as well. Beckman commented in 1995 that "the very technology that brought us digital darkrooms, high-speed access to photo databases and desktop computer graphics and pagination has now led us into a reality of poorly designed electronic newspapers sparsely illustrated with low-resolution photographs."[27]

In the intervening two years, hundreds of papers have developed online sites, many of them offering staff photography. Are photojournalists typically involved in preparing photography for the web, or has photography become part of the job of separate online staffs?

It also is becoming more difficult to distinguish roles within news operations. Digital imaging technology makes it possible, though possibly not practical, to promote a convergence of jobs within the newsroom. Computer picture processing has largely eliminated the need to have a separate physical location where photo handling is performed. Many papers continue to shoot and develop film, but every point in the process beyond developing can be done outside the physical environs of the darkroom. Another step, the digital camera, eliminates the need for any darkroom. In effect, digitization of text and photos has made it possible for photographers to take on reporting and visual-presentation tasks typically done by reporters, editors and designers and, at the same time, for editors to take on roles traditionally held by photographers and even production camera operators.

Some newspapers have institutionalized cross-training for staff members, including photographers, who may do a stint as reporters, copyeditors or designers, learning new tasks and new technologies. Moss argues that such training will become increasingly important.[28] At smaller papers, staff members have always worn many hats; is digital imaging helping make that approach more important at mid-size and large papers?

If digital imaging has led to intra-organizational convergence, one indication is whether photo editors consider non-photo skills of growing importance in the hiring of photographers. A parallel issue is raised in various forums about the extent and rapidity of cross-media convergence and whether journalism schools are prepared to train students for careers that may require skills that cut across traditional media industries. Video skills are the best example.

Some programs have shifted to a model in which students learn both print and visual reporting in expectation that media convergence will continue to dissolve the distinction between print and electronic reporting as it has in some online or multimedia news operations. More and more journalism programs are creating electronic publishing courses that deliberately blur the distinction between traditional industry practices. Friedland and Webb, for example, talk about a course at the University of Wisconsin that requires students to learn a variety of online skills, including how to take digital pictures and process them for web use.[29] Paul Lester of the University of California, Fullerton, sees technological change and convergence as a challenge to be met as well as an opportunity in journalism education:

> "It will be standing room only in photojournalism classes when we teach our students the fundamentals of visual communication – how to sense, select and perceive a visual message--and how to work a camera, a computer and the software, how to use database research methods, how to create informational graphics, how to combine words with your stories, and how to make layouts and designs for print and interactive media."[30]

Few newspaper web sites now contain video clips, but many observers expect the use of video to grow in the near future, as bandwidth improvements enable faster transmission times. Several questions emerge: To what degree are newspaper photojournalists involved in online still photography at their papers, and to what degree do photo editors, many of whom work at papers with web sites, see the need for photographers to be skilled in video?

Whatever form new media take, images will almost certainly play a major role. The crystal ball used by photo editors in not necessarily clearer than others'; photo editors do, however, have the clearest image of newspapers' imaging needs for the present and, because they deal with ongoing technological change (and hiring), they have a valuable perspective on the near future.

Research questions

This study examines the attitudes and issues photo editors face when dealing with new technologies. It deals with five general areas:

> 1. What is the extent of digital imaging use at U.S. dailies? Included in this section were questions dealing with the preferred platform and software, the extent of digital camera use, the percentage of papers that have web sites and use local photos on those sites, and the role photo staff members play in web photo work.
>
> 2. What skills are most important for photographers today? Included in this section were questions asking editors to rate the importance of traditional photo skills, processing skills, digital imaging and digital camera skills. We also asked photo editors about the importance of skills that reflect convergence of jobs within the organization, such as design and graphics skills and skills that reflect convergence with other media forms, such as web skills and video camera skills.
>
> 3. What skills are likely to be important in five years? Here, we asked editors to predict future skill needs. This section allowed us to compare current skills with predicted future needs to examine whether chemical darkroom skills will be less important and whether digital skills would remain the same or increase in importance.

4. Are there shifts in skills toward convergence? We assume that skills dealing with the world wide web will increase in importance. Articles in the trade press as well as in academic journals have noted the blurring of lines between media and the blurring of lines within the academy and the newsroom.[31] Do photo editors see a similar shift? Will video skills, for example, be more important in the future?.

5. Finally, to what degree do photo editors consider digital imaging skills as hiring criteria? How do those skills rank in perceived importance among other job criteria? Is there a difference based on newspaper size? It is possible, for example, that digital imaging skills may be of greater importance at entry-level papers than at larger papers. Smaller papers do not have the resources to train extensively and thus may want new employees to begin work with experience in the technology. If so, this information would be of particular importance to journalism educators.

Method

Data come from a mail survey of photo editors at daily newspapers in the United States. Newspapers and addresses were selected from the *1996* Editor and Publisher International Yearbook through a systematic random sample. Only newspapers with circulation of more than 7,500 were surveyed. Newspapers below 7,500 circulation use digital image processing, but they are less likely to have a photo department as such and less likely to use certain digital technologies, such as Leaf Desks. Because we wanted to examine attitudes and issues photo editors faced because of new technologies and in the hiring of photographers, we felt eliminating smaller papers was justified.

The initial mailing took place on Feb. 28, 1997. A second mailing, with a follow-up letter and another copy of the questionnaire, was sent two weeks later. Both mailings were addressed to each newspaper's photo editor, chief photographer or photo department director as listed in Editor and Publisher International Yearbook. If a newspaper's listing in the E&P Yearbook did not list a supervisory position for photo, the mailing was addressed to "Photo editor."

A total of 205 newspapers out of 362 responded, for a 56.6 percent response rate, which is acceptable, according to Babbie.[32]

The survey instrument asked a variety of questions dealing with the importance of chemical and digital photographic skills, other newsroom skills such as graphics and page design and new web-based and video skills. Photo editors were asked to indicate whether they though each of 17 skill areas was important on a scale ranging from "not at all important" (1) to "extremely important" (5). They also were asked to indicate the importance of nine possible criteria for entry-level hiring on a similar scale.

Results

1. Digital imaging use

Digital imaging is almost ubiquitous at U.S. dailies over 7,500 circulation. Only four papers out of 205 indicated no digital imaging use, 80 percent were 100 percent digital, and 95 percent used digital imaging for at least 90 percent of their images. For most of the papers that still print negatives in a darkroom, prints represent a small fraction of their output. Most papers that use digital image processing scan negatives rather than transparencies, because negatives, particularly color negatives, are more forgiving in exposure than transparency film. Ninety-five percent said they primarily scanned negatives; 2 percent said they primarily scanned transparencies.

A great majority of papers use Photoshop software on a Macintosh platform for digital imaging, as industry observers have been reporting anecdotally for several years (Table 1). Ninety-five percent said they used Photoshop, and 87 percent said they used a Macintosh platform. Only 10 percent of photo editors said their imaging was done on a Windows platform.) About 5 percent of photo editors said they used other systems for image-processing, such as Scitex.

Digital camera use is surprisingly high – at 27.3 percent of papers – though the percentage of photos shot with those cameras remains relatively low. Among papers that use digital cameras, the mean was 22.7 percent of staff photos shot with digital cameras.[33] Most shoot only a small fraction of their photos electronically (60 percent of the 56 papers that reported digital camera use said they shot 10 percent or fewer photos electronically. Three said they took 95 percent or more photos digitally.

One-hundred fourteen photo editors, or 55.6 percent, said their papers had online editions. Entry-level papers, which we define as circulation less than 25,000, were significantly underrepresented (Table 2).

Of papers with online editions, 81.5% indicated that they use staff photos. Of those, 62 percent said online photos were prepared by a separate online staff, 28 percent by the photo department and 7 percent by the news department. These findings suggest that observers who have expressed concerns about photographers' control of their online images may have a point.

2. What skills are important today?

Photo editors ranked traditional photography skills such as shooting and providing accurate caption information highest among the 17 skills listed, and another traditional skill, picture editing, is also high (Table 3). Two digital processing skills (scanning and using Photoshop) are next in importance. The picture is somewhat mixed on traditional chemical darkroom skills, with developing film ranked very high and printing considerably lower. These rankings reflect the reality of photo processing in dailies today, where negatives are still used for the majority of pictures but prints are almost nonexistent. Several other digital skills – using the Leaf Desk, using an electronic photo archive and using a digital camera – are considered somewhat important today.

3. What skills are likely to be important in five years?

The picture changes somewhat for the near future. Photo editors again ranked traditional skills of shooting and providing caption information highest and picture editing quite high (Table 3). But they indicate that a wider constellation of digital imaging skills will be very important. Those are Photoshop use, scanning, using digital cameras and using digital archives. Traditional processing skills drop far down in ranks, with film developing only "somewhat important" in five years and printing very unimportant.

4. Do shifts, if any, reflect convergence, within the organization and between media forms?

Skills that reflect convergence of jobs within newsrooms, such as page design and graphics, are considered of little importance today. In five years, photo editors indicate, those skills will increase in importance. Web skills move up from "slightly" to "somewhat" important in five years.

The results suggest that photo editors attach greater importance (though still not much) to a convergence of skills within their organizations than between media. The increasing importance placed on web skills may be more a reflection of photo editors' desire to gain more control over how images are used in online editions than it is an indication of cross-media convergence.

Both today and in five years, video skills were ranked lowest of the 17 listed skills. The difference in means on this item is statistically significant, but even at five years, the mean score fails to rise to the level of "slightly important." Moreover, there is no significant difference between entry-level and larger papers on this question for either the present or five years from now. And there is no difference between papers that now have web sites and those that don't.

It may be that photo editors as a group are dubious about the likelihood of a near-term solution to the bandwidth problems that inhibit the delivery of video on the web. It also may be the case that photo editors at U.S. dailies do not believe that media convergence is occurring as quickly as some observers within both the industry and academia suggest. For journalism educators, a prudent course might be to keep one eye on the light at the end of the tunnel and the other on the track immediately ahead.

5. Hiring criteria:

The results indicate that digital-image-processing skills currently are an important criterion for hiring at the entry level (Table 4). Digital darkroom skills ranked second only to having a good portfolio, which photo editors consider of great importance. The mean for a good portfolio was 4.56 – midway between "very" and "extremely" important, and the mean of 4.00 for digital darkroom skills was – "very" important. The ranking of criteria is generally consistent with the findings of the 1996 Dow Jones Newspaper Fund survey of hiring criteria for reporters, editors and designers.

Breaking the sample into three circulation groups (less than 25,000, 25,000-75,000 and greater than 75,000) shows a high level of consistency in assessment of the importance of entry-level criteria. Only two significant differences emerged: Larger papers were more likely to rate a photo internship very important, and smaller papers were more likely to rate chemical darkroom skills important. Breaking down current skills by entry-level vs. larger papers (Table 5) shows several significant differences, but the overall picture is that larger and smaller papers are quite similar in the skills they value in photojournalists.

Another question offers additional evidence of the importance of digital imaging skills. About 2 out of 5 photo editors say they are either somewhat or very unlikely to hire a photographer with no digital imaging experience. Here, too, no significant difference emerged between photo editors at the entry level and those at larger papers (Tables 5 and 6). There are no industry-standard definitions of "entry-level paper" by circulation, but the lack of relationship holds when papers are grouped in other ways, such as two groups (less than 25,000 and greater than 25,000) and two somewhat different groups (less than 50,000 and more than 50,000.

Conclusion

The shift from chemical to digital processing has led to a relative lack of concern among photo editors about the need for chemical skills, in particular, printing. Very few of the photos used in newspapers today were ever printed in a darkroom. Many journalism programs, however, continue to focus on those skills, for reasons of cost and, perhaps, as LeFleur and Davenport found with database reporting, inertia.[34]

Certain new skills are growing in importance, such as the use of digital cameras, use of the web and preparation of photos for the web. Skills that reflect convergence between photo jobs and other newsroom jobs, such as design and graphics arts, appear to be growing in importance. The key skill that reflects cross-media convergence – video – increases in importance, but not to the level of the others.

An analysis of skills photo editors consider important now is vital in curricular planning. A glimpse at what skills might be important in five years also will be useful to journalism educators, who need to prepare students for the near future as well as the present.

How soon do journalism programs need to think about moving from chemical to digital training? Based on this survey, the message from photo editors is that the digital revolution has already occurred, particularly in image-processing, and that it is well under way in image capture. By implication, their message to journalism educators seems clear as well: It's time to join the revolution.

1. See, for example, "Newspapers Explain Different Approaches to Pagination," presstime, 1983, 13; Rosalind C. Truitt, "Pagination, Slowly Finding a Newspaper Niche," presstime, 16.

2. George Garneau, "Picture Desk Update," Editor & Publisher, Feb. 24, 1990, 1P.

3. Jim Rosenberg, "Wirephoto Update," Editor & Publisher, March 14, 1992, 3P, 31-33P.

4. Helene Cohen Smith, "Electronic Photo Archiving," Editor & Publisher, March 5, 1994, 18P-19P,23P.

5. George Garneau, "Filmless News Photography," Editor & Publisher, June 27, 1987, 2-3.

6. The Associated Press shot a photo of George Bush's inauguration with a digital camera. Vin Alabiso, "Digital Era Dawns," Editor and Publisher, March 2, 1996, 8P, 18P.

7. Robert J. Salgado, "Kodak's DC3/B Digital Camera System," Editor & Publisher, March 14, 1992, 6P-7P.

8. Jim Rosenberg, "AP, Kodak Unveil NC2000," Editor & Publisher, March 5, 1994, 13P,14P, 26P.

9. See, for example, Sheila Reaves, "What's Wrong with this Picture? Daily Newspaper Photo Editors' Attitudes and Their Tolerance Toward Digital Manipulation," Newspaper Research Journal, Fall 1992/Winter 1993, p. 131-155; and Tom Wheeler and Tim Gleason, Photography or Photofiction: An Ethical Protocol for the Digital Age, Visual Communication Quarterly, January 1995, S8-12.

10. A 1994 article introducing a special issue of American Photographer on the future of photojournalism said, "Today, in picture departments of major newspapers, you're more likely to see photo editors gathered around Macintoshes rather than poring over stacks of prints. Sean Callahan, "The Next Big Picture," American Photographer, May/June 1994, 57.

11. Rich Beckman, "Finding Technology Friends for Photojournalism Education," Visual Communications Quarterly, Winter 1997, p.3. A lab capable of digital imaging requires a negative scanner, a good quality printer, fairly powerful computers and fairly expensive software

12. The "Oregon Report" Chapter VI, "Coping with the New Technology," discussed this debate in detail in 1987. Planning for Curricular Change in Journalism Education, University of Oregon School of Journalism, May 1987, 33-40.

13. Michael O'Donnell, "Teaching Desktop Publication Design with Desktop Technology," Journalism Educator, Winter 1995, 47-56. Margaret H. DeFleur and Lucinda D. Davenport,

"Innovation Lag: Computer-Assisted Classrooms Vs. Newsrooms, Journalism Educator, Summer 1993, 26-35. The Oregon Report also discusses these issues.

14. Douglas Birkhead, "Survey: J-History Courses Likely To Survive Journalism Budget Cuts," AJHA Intelligencer, February, 1995. C. Zoe Smith and Andrew Mendelson, "Visual Communication Education: Cause for Concern or Bright Future?" Journalism Educator, Autumn 1996, 66-73.

15. Post to JOURNET, Dec. 5, 1996, by Rob Heller, School of Journalism, University of Tennessee. Used with author's permission.

16. Post to JOURNET, Dec. 6, 1996, by George Frajkor, Carleton University School of Journalism. Used with author's permission.

17. Interview with Ken Irby, Poynter Institute for Media Studies, March 28, 1997.

18. The Journalist's Road to Success, The Dow Jones Newspaper Fund Inc., 1996-97, p. 14.

19. John Russial, "Beyond the Basics: "Mixed Messages about Pagination and Other Skills," Newspaper Research Journal, Winter 1995, 60-70.

20. Robert McClain, "Journalism Education Should Include More Computer Training," Newspapers & Technology, January 1994, p. 21.

21. John Russial, "Mixed Messages About Pagination and other New Skills," Newspaper Research Journal, Winter 1995, 60-70.

22. Barbie Zelizer, "Words Against Images: Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography," in Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennan, eds., News Workers, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota) 1995.

23. Mary Jo Moss, "Lost Among Pixels: Who's Minding the Store," News Photographer, February 1994, 10-11.

24. Paul Lester of California State University/Fullerton says, for example, that computers allow photographers to become a presence in the newsroom, including in the reporting process. Lester, "Changes Ahead: Visual Reporting vs. Photography," News Photographer, August 1995, p. 15. Also, Bryan Grigsby, "'96 Year of Gloom, Doom?" News Photographer, January 1996, 12-13. On the occasion of the demolition of the old chemical darkroom, Darlene Pfister, photo department head of the Minneapolis Star Tribune, said, "Now that we no longer need the dark to produce photographs for the newspaper, there will be no need to separate photographers from the rest of the Star tribune staff. We look forward to taking our place beside the rest of you in the newsroom." "End of an Era Ceremony at Star Tribune, Minneapolis," News Photographer, October 1995, p. 20.

25. Jim McNay, a photojournalism teacher at San Jose State University, said, "Every time I meet with professional photographers, I notice how much the discussion is about

software and technology and how little is about content." McNay, "The Importance of Content, Content, Content," Visual Communication Quarterly, Fall 1995, p. 3.

26. See, for example, Karen E. Becker, "To Control Out Image: Photojournalists and New Technology," Media, Culture and Society, 1991, 381-397.

27. Rich Beckman, "Is This the Right Road?" Visual Communication Quarterly, Spring 1995, p. 8.

28. Mary Jo Moss, "Lost Among the Pixels: Who's Minding the Store," News Photographer, February 1994, 10-11.

29. Lewis A. Friedland and Sheila Webb, "Incorporating Online Publishing into the Curriculum," Journalism Educator, Autumn 1996, 54-65.

30. Lester, "Changes Ahead."

31. For example Christopher Harper led a recent journalism review piece with an anecdote about Cornelia Grumman, a Chicago Tribune online reporter who carries a pen, a notepad and audio and video equipment. Harper, "Doing It All. American Journalism Review December 1996, 24-29. Smith and Mendelson, in a Journalism Educator piece, quote James Gentry, dean of the Reynolds School of Journalism at the University of Nevada-Reno as saying: "We have to be digitally oriented, so that means we need to think of photo, moving video, CD-ROM, etc. as they all interact and relate, not simply like we did with photojournalism in the past." Smith and Mendelson, "Visual Communication Education: Cause for Concern or Bright Future?"

32. Earl Babbie, Survey Research Methods, (New York: Wadsworth) 1973.

33. Eleven other papers indicated that their news staff did not use digital cameras but that the advertising department did--for small images such as pictures of houses in real estate ads.

34. DeFleur and Davenport, "Innovation Lag: Computer-Assisted Classrooms Vs. Newsrooms."

Table 1. Percentage of photo editors responding yes to technology-use questions.

Question	Percent saying yes
Do you use digital cameras?	27.3
Do you use Leaf desks?	75.6
Do you use Photoshop?	95.1
Do you use Macintosh computers?	87.3
Do you use Windows ?	10.2
Do you use other software?	5.4
Is your newspaper online?	55.6
Do you have local photos on a web site?	47.3

Table 2. Newspaper and online edition by circulation size.

	Small Papers (<25,000)	Medium Papers (25-75,000)	Large Papers (>75,000)	Total
Yes	42	49	23	114
No	58	27	5	90
Total	100	76	28	204

Chi-square = 17.92, p = .000

Table 3. Mean scores and rankings for current and future skills for photographers.

	Current importance		Future importance		T-score	Sign.
Traditional skills						
Shoot photographs	4.86	(#1)	4.83	(#1)	0.76	.447
Provide complete, accurate caption info	4.78	(#2)	4.77	(#2)	0.43	.671
Edit photographs	3.90	(#6)	4.24	(#4)	7.00	.000
Processing skills						
Develop film	3.96	(#5)	2.97	(#12)	12.55	.000
Print photographs	2.61	(#10)	1.97	(#16)	9.29	.000
Digital imaging skills						
Scan negatives	4.28	(#3)	4.23	(#5)	0.66	.512
Use Photoshop	4.26	(#4)	4.54	(#3)	4.86	.000
Use Leaf desk	3.25	(#7)	3.15	(#11)	1.20	.232
Use a digital archive	2.97	(#8)	4.09	(#7)	14.06	.000
Use a digital camera	2.54	(#11)	4.23	(#5)	19.80	.000
Web skills						
Use the World Wide Web	2.01	(#14)	3.29	(#8)	16.24	.000
Prepare Web photos	1.82	(#16)	3.27	(#10)	17.38	.000
Convergence skills						
Report	2.91	(#9)	3.29	(#8)	7.48	.000
Use layout software	2.19	(#12)	2.94	(#13)	11.19	.000
Design pages	2.12	(#13)	2.61	(#14)	8.66	.000
Use graphics software	1.85	(#15)	2.58	(#15)	10.85	.000
Use a video camera	1.24	(#17)	1.92	(#17)	9.38	.000

Table 4. Mean scores, rankings and ANOVA results for criteria for entry-level photo job applicants at small, medium and large newspapers.

Criteria	All papers	Small papers (<25,000)	Medium papers (25-75,000)	Large papers (>75,000)	F-score	Sign.
Good portfolio	4.56	4.48 (#1)	4.58 (#1)	4.78 (#1)	2.03	.134
Digital darkroom skills	4.00	3.93 (#2)	4.01 (#2)	4.21 (#2)	1.12	.327
Photo internship	3.71	3.45 (#3)	3.92 (#3)	4.07 (#3)	7.69	.001
Journalism major	3.45	3.37 (#4)	3.52 (#4)	3.53 (#5)	0.65	.519
Working for campus paper	3.39	3.38 (#5)	3.32 (#6)	3.61 (#4)	0.92	.397
Photo-journalism major	3.36	3.37 (#6)	3.48 (#5)	3.29 (#7)	0.61	.482
Good grades	3.18	3.03 (#7)	3.32 (#6)	3.36 (#6)	2.74	.069
Chemical darkroom skills	3.05	3.31 (#8)	2.88 (#8)	2.57 (#8)	8.01	.000
Fine arts major	2.33	2.26 (#9)	2.45 (#9)	2.28 (#9)	0.86	.425

Table 5. Mean scores and rankings for current skills at entry -level and larger papers

	Papers < 25,000		Papers >25,000		T-score	Sign.
Traditional skills						
Shoot photographs	4.87	(#1)	4.84	(#1)	0.33	.739
Provide complete, accurate caption info	4.77	(#2)	4.79	(#2)	0.32	.747
Edit photographs	3.99	(#6)	3.81	(#5)	1.36	.176
Processing skills						
Develop film	4.18	(#5)	3.75	(#6)	2.84	.005
Print photographs	2.78	(#9)	2.45	(#11)	1.86	.064
Digital imaging skills						
Scan negatives	4.29	(#3)	4.27	(#3)	0.20	.839
Use Photoshop	4.25	(#4)	4.27	(#3)	0.15	.877
Use Leaf desk	3.21	(#7)	3.29	(#7)	0.44	.661
Use a digital archive	2.72	(#10)	3.21	(#8)	2.89	.004
Use a digital camera	2.41	(#11t)	2.67	(#10)	1.52	.130
Web skills						
Use the World Wide Web	1.97	(#15)	2.06	(#12)	0.70	.484
Prepare Web photos	1.80	(#16)	1.84	(#15)	0.30	.765
Convergence skills						
Report	2.89	(#8)	2.94	(#9)	0.30	.762
Use layout software	2.35	(#11 t)	2.02	(#13)	2.14	.034
Design pages	2.23	(#13)	2.00	(#14)	1.69	.093
Use graphics software	1.99	(#14)	1.73	(#16)	2.04	.042
Use a video camera	1.23	(#17)	1.25	(#17)	0.14	.888

Table 6. Would photo editors hire someone with no digital imaging experience?

	Small Papers	Medium Papers	Large Papers	Total
Likely	64	44	19	127
Unlikely	37	32	9	78
Total	101	76	28	205

Chi-square = 1.03, p = .597

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Reflective practice in journalism education

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Reflective practice in journalism education

ABSTRACT: The authors suggest that explicit structured reflection as identified in the literature on experiential learning can be valuable in the context of practically-based journalism education. In response to pressures on journalism education to develop more critical practitioners and to address rapid technological change, explicit structured reflection can be harnessed to address learners' ability to think critically about their professional practice and to deal with issues of technology in a clear and uncluttered manner.

THERE are pressures on journalism education both to develop more critical practitioners and to tackle the growing problems of practical teaching posed by the increasing rapidity of technological change. In this paper we will suggest that an examination of pedagogical practice in the education of adults may offer some exemplars which could address both types of pressure without demanding that journalism educators make radical changes in their current work.

Many university journalism educators pride themselves on the fact that they teach journalism in a thoroughly practical fashion. Students write stories, produce newspapers, television and radio programs, and work in an environment which is intended to seem more like a workplace than a university. The practical dimension of many journalism programs, at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, is what sets them apart from the media studies courses which derive from critical theory developed in social science and literary studies and which do not claim to prepare students for professional work in journalism.

Some writers, however, have recently argued that journalism education should take more account of the frameworks for critical analysis provided by social science and literary criticism. Philip Meyer, defending the role of the PhD in journalism, suggests that 'the successful journalists of the near future will have to understand the processes and effects of mass communication and the theories that try to explain them as well as the craft skills' (Meyer, 1996); and George Claassen confronts an issue of cultural illiteracy in his argument for the introduction of high order skills into journalism education (Claassen, 1995). However, an equally pressing challenge in journalism education is the increasing need for multiskilling among journalism graduates. The University of Indiana Journalism School's web site, for example, contains an article describing how a grant from the Knight Foundation is being used to develop curricular changes in response to the rapid technological changes in the media industries (Lemmon, 1996); much recent literature addresses the need to introduce new kinds of technology-based skills into the journalism education curriculum. Gunaratne and Lee, for example, argue comprehensively for the extension of journalism curricula to embrace the Internet both as a research tool and as a publishing medium in its own right. Quoting Scott's 1995 survey of journalism education, they warn that journalism schools will have to pay more attention to technology both in information gathering and in dissemination if they are to continue to deliver adequately equipped graduates to the industry (Gunaratne and Lee, 1996; Scott, 1995).

Looking for descriptions of teaching and learning strategies among journalism educators in the preparation of this paper has been a difficult task. We looked at Web sites maintained by leading University journalism schools and departments worldwide, using as one of our starting points the useful links page provided by

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Northwestern University as well as more general search strategies. The extensive range of course material we browsed tended to emphasise the practical dimension of the education offered, but not to describe the teaching and learning methods underpinning what is on offer. One institution, for example, restricts itself in its on-line documentation to saying:

> As with other programs, Journalism offers a curriculum based on the idea that people learn by doing.

Even in Britain, where external assessment agencies require statements of teaching and learning methods, course descriptions mainly focus on the practical activity that students will undertake without describing the pedagogical approaches employed.

It is difficult to ignore the fact that much journalism education tends to be implemented by professional journalists who enter the academic arena after a career in the industry. Browsing the on-line biographies of journalism faculty throughout the world bears this out, and one of the authors of this paper is himself no exception to the rule. The professional experience of most journalism teachers is valued by students and faculty alike, who see the transfer of knowledge about industrial practice, and of contemporary professional skills, into the learning environment as among the most important dimensions of journalism education. Moreover, the emphasis on learning from experience, and the intensely practical nature of the teaching that is offered, are likely to be related to the industrial backgrounds of most of the people involved. The provenance of most journalism teachers may also go some way to explaining why it is sometimes possible to observe a disjuncture between the teaching of journalism to adults and the teaching of other professional and academic subjects to adults.

Herbert Simon, who as Dean of Carnegie-Mellon's school of business administration in the 1960s addressed some of the issues faced by business schools which also affect journalism and other professional schools, wrote of the danger that

> the 'practical' segment of the faculty becomes dependent on the world of business as its sole source of knowledge inputs. Instead of an innovator, it becomes a slightly out-of-date purveyor of almost-current business practice (Simon, 1969, p350)

Simon goes on to argue for 'practical' and 'academic' staff in institutions to come together to formulate science and theory to underpin their teaching. But Schön, who quotes Simon admiringly, goes on to suggest a strategy for placing what he calls a reflective practicum at the centre of the work of the professional school, creating a bridge between the world of practice and the world of the academy (Schön, 1987, p.309). In this way, Schön suggests, it is possible to move towards resolving some of the conflicts between the academic and vocational dimensions of the professional school.

Increasing the emphasis on, and value of, the reflective dimension of the practical work of journalism education is a task which can be assisted by an exploration of the research in the field of adult learning which has focused on the value of learners' experience, and on ways in which learning from experience can be promoted and enhanced.

Five key propositions about learning from experience are outlined by Boud, Cohen and Walker (1993). Briefly summarised, they are:

- Experience is the foundation of, and stimulus for, learning;
- Learners actively construct their own experience;
- Learning is holistic;
- Learning is socially and culturally constructed;
- Learning is influenced by the socio-emotional context in which it occurs.

What these propositions imply is that learning from experience takes place through a number of filters which ensure that each learner's perception of a given experience is, as might be expected, different from another's. As Boud and Miller argue,

> Each experience is influenced by the unique past of the learner as well as the current context. Each individual is attuned to some aspects of the world and not to others, and this affects his or her focus and response. Learners attach their own meanings to events even though others may attempt to impose their definitions on them. The meaning of experience is not given; it is subject to interpretation. The major influence on the way learners construct their experience is the cumulative effect of their personal and cultural history. (Boud and Miller, 1996, p.9)

Understanding the variables which act on the different ways in which individuals react to a common experience helps to explain why relying exclusively on the provision of common experiences can be problematic in terms of learning. For example, sending students out to cover events – even events in which there are definably common experiences, such as press conferences – and then assessing the stories they write in terms of external criteria satisfactorily replicates the workplace environment; but the question should be asked as to the extent to which a student's learning is improved by the process. Of course, most journalism educators provide class feedback or 'copy clinics' in which students' work is analysed, but the danger is that this can often take the form of instruction, perhaps based on the way the teacher would have written the story, rather than structured reflection on the experience itself.

The experiential learning cycle, in which reflection is seen as an explicit and necessary dimension of learning from experience, is generally attributed to Kolb (Kolb *et al*, 1971; Kolb 1981; Kolb, 1984). It has been described in a number of ways, but one of the most useful was developed by Boydell (1976) and is shown as figure 1.

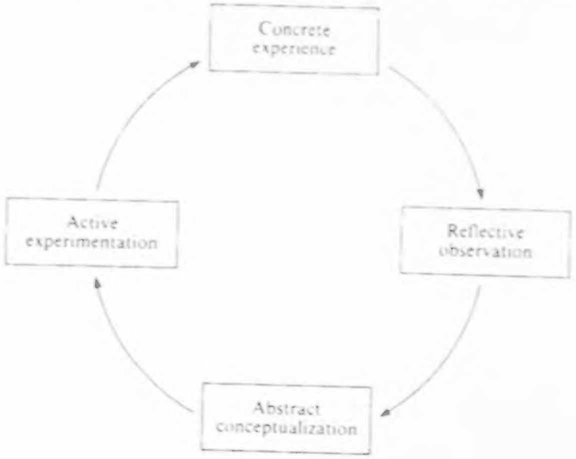

Figure 1: The experiential learning cycle, after Boydell, 1976

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Kolb wrote that the experiential learning cycle is

> a model of the learning process that is consistent with the structure of human cognition and the stages of human growth and development. It conceptualises the learning process in such a way that differences in individual learning styles and corresponding learning environments can be identified. (Kolb, 1981, p.235)

The experiential learning cycle, as shown here, consists of discrete activities, which take place in order. Concrete experience is followed by reflective observation, which in its turn is followed by abstract conceptualisation, or, in some models, theory-building, which is followed by active experimentation, and then once again by concrete experience. Thus the cycle is continuous, and although the concrete experience will not take exactly the same form every time, it is obviously valuable if learners can return to a similar experience after having reflected on it and thought about what they have learned from it. Thus students might be sent out to cover a press conference, and come back and write a story about it, within a word limit and by a deadline (concrete experience). They then reflect on the whole experience of covering the event and writing the story (reflective observation); derive some principles from the experience, which might be as complex as how best to sort out facts from hype at a press conference, or as simple as learning when it is and is not appropriate to ask a question (abstract conceptualisation); work on some strategies and plans for the next similar experience (active experimentation) and then go out to cover another press conference. In terms of applying the experiential learning cycle to teaching, it becomes clear that it is important for students to have a number of opportunities to undergo similar activities; in this example, sending them out to a press conference once and once only would never do. Thus in courses taught by one of the authors of this paper, postgraduate newspaper students study the reporting of speeches by watching a video of a recent newsmaking speech; write about it; engage in a structured reflection session; see the speech again and write another story about it.

Much of the work on experiential learning has been carried out by members of the Australian Consortium on Experiential Education (ACEE), who have focused on the importance of the theory and practice of reflection in the experiential learning process (see, for instance, Boud, Keogh and Walker, 1985). Commenting on the lack of attention in Kolb's model to the stage of reflection and observation, they suggest looking more closely at the process and breaking the reflective component into three parts:

- returning to experience
- attending to feelings
- re-evaluating experience (Boud, Keogh and Walker, 1985, p.35).

Within this model, the first activity that takes place in the reflection phase is that of establishing the nature of the experience itself. It will be clear that in a group situation, a number of different descriptions of a particular experience will be heard, and establishing what people think has happened can provide a useful base on which to build reflection and further learning. (The differences between different learners' descriptions of a common experience can sometimes be particularly valuable in journalism education). Simply encouraging them to name an experience, or dimensions of it, can be useful in helping learners to make sense of what has happened to them. This can be as simple as identifying a brush-off technique in a press conference, or as complex as recognising a key problem with a story. Agreeing that a story doesn't stand up is an essential precondition to working out why it doesn't stand

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up; simply being told,, by a teacher or an editor, is rarely adequate, and can make working out how to put it right very hard.

The next activity that takes place in this model is that learners are encouraged to look at their feelings about an experience as well as at their intellectual reaction. Picking apart positive feelings from obstructive feelings and unpacking the emotional dimension from the intellectual makes clearer the process of re-evaluating the experience, finding new perspectives on it and working out new ways of behaving the next time a similar experience presents itself.

It is easy to underestimate the emotional dimension of the reflective process, and acknowledging the existence of other than intellectual components to education can sometimes run counter to an established academic or professional ethos. Yet, as one of the authors of this paper has argued,

> Emotions and feelings are key pointers both to possibilities for, and barriers to, learning. Denial of feelings is denial of learning. It is through emotions that some of the tensions and contradictions between our own interests and those of the external context manifest themselves (Boud and Miller, 1996, p.10).

Journalistic work often stimulates intense emotional reactions. Whether it is the carnage of a civil war or of a road traffic accident, or the intense (though tiny) frustrations of unhelpful telephonists and receptionists, journalists need to develop ways of dealing with their emotional reactions before they can start writing about whatever it is they have been asked to write about. Similarly, in the institutional environment, the process itself sometimes generates fierce reactions, which can be provoked by problems ranging from the inadequacy of a school or department's computer systems to the boring repetitiveness of the shorthand class. Without adequate structures for reflection which enable learners to express their emotional reactions as well as their intellectual or practical reactions, it will always be hard to deal with the barriers to learning that emotional differences erect; it will equally be hard to grasp the positive opportunities that learners' emotional make-ups offer.

The idea of abstract conceptualisation, or theory-building, can be intimidating, particularly to those who feel robustly that they are committed to a practical mode of education. But it consists in essence of no more than creating ways in which learners can explicitly evaluate and articulate guidance to ways in which they might behave in order to improve their future performance in a similar situation. This might be as simple as figuring out that as a general rule it is better to ask a question after the person giving the press conference has finished her opening statement, instead of interrupting; or it might be as complicated as working out that using a wide shot to establish the location in which a TV news sequence takes place can make it easier for the viewer to understand what the story is about.

However, in all of these reflective processes, learners need to have the confidence to know that they will not be made to feel foolish or be embarrassed by their participation. This means that the teacher has to be aware of a number of issues about power and control which can affect the usefulness of structured reflection. In the institutional setting, teachers inevitably occupy a position of power over learners; as one of the authors of this paper has argued, it is important for teachers to be self-reflexive 'in accepting that they are also part of the culture and context and may act in ways which are oppressive and unawarely reinforce power, thus closing possibilities for learning' (Boud and Miller, 1996, p.10). The most powerful influence of context is often language, and it can be hard to be aware of the effect of language in the relationship between teachers and learners. Sometimes the issue is of cultural

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difference, but more often it can be to do with carelessness in expression. Journalism is clublike as a profession and it is easy, for instance, to dismiss important issues with exclusionary language. People often do not recognise ways in which they exercise power – or engage in oppression – in education, and self-reflexivity should not be underestimated as part of the teacher's repertoire. Those involved in the animation of learning from experience, whether in an institutional context or not, should be careful to try to avoid seeming to be judgmental during structured reflection, which also means trying to remove judgmental dimensions from their general relationships with learners. Of course, in a institution of higher education, teachers are inevitably associated with the formal assessment process, and in the end they are obliged to make judgements about the learners with whom they have worked. The more explicit the teacher–learner relationship can be made – up to and possibly including formal learning contracts between those involved – the easier it will be to understand and provide for issues of power and control; but to ignore such issues can risk compromising the learning process.

Structured reflection is not the same as 'feedback' or group review, and without it the experiential learning cycle will not be as effective as it could be in enhancing learning from practical experience. The objective is to encourage the learner to reflect on the experience, not to provide space for the teacher to tell him or her what was 'wrong' with the outcome. Moreover, the learner should be made aware of the process in which she or he is participating. In both the departments in which the authors of this paper work, course documentation includes descriptions of the experiential learning cycle. A simple way of encouraging learners in a group setting in the reflective phase is to suggest that they consider three questions:

- What happened?
- How did it feel?
- What have I learned from it?

This sequence addresses Boud, Cohen and Walker's three-step reflective process by suggesting revisiting the experience; by requiring the emotional issues to be addressed explicitly; and by providing a framework for re-evaluation, or for abstract conceptualisation. This is not the place for factual or stylistic correction or for didacticism; the totality of the experience being reflected upon might include the return of marked or subbed copy, concrete issues to do with content or presentation having been tackled in that process. However, in the abstract conceptualisation or theory-building element, it can be useful to help learners recognise where existing theoretical frameworks can inform their practice.

The process we have described is likely to contribute towards the development of a reflective practitioner. Schön suggests that a reflective practitioner should display a number of skills or qualities:

> A reflective practitioner must be attentive to patterns of phenomena, skilled at describing what he *[sic]* observes, inclined to put forward bold and sometimes radically simplified models of experience, and ingenious in devising tests of them compatible with the constraints of an action setting (Schön, 1987, p.322)

In a shorter definition, we would hold that a reflective practitioner is capable of explicit critical analysis of the processes of his or her practice.

By enabling learners to reflect in a structured way on the practical activities that form the bulk of their journalism education, the need, as expressed particularly by Meyer, to develop graduates who understand the processes and effects of mass communication

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might be met without compromising the acknowledged success of practically-based vocational journalism education. In some areas of journalism education, faculty and employers alike tend to distrust the theoretical nature of media studies grounded in social science and literary criticism; but it is hard to deny the value of much of the research on journalistic practice and the strength of the theoretical underpinning that has developed with it. Further widening of the gap between practical, vocationally-based journalism education and the work of social science and literary criticism creates the risk that students could emerge from journalism courses without the developed ability to think critically about their professional practice. Without the development of such an ability forming an acknowledged dimension of journalism education, the place of journalism in the academy might prove harder to defend; and if Meyer is right, both students and employers might complain that they have been short-changed. An appreciation of the use of structured reflection does not oblige journalism educators to abandon the valued practical grounding of their work; but it provides a framework within which theoretical issues can be addressed as part of the process of learning from practical experience itself.

Moreover, the need to come to terms with the increasingly technological nature of the journalist's work within the timespans and resources of existing courses may also be addressed by the use of explicit structured reflection because of the clarity which it introduces into practical learning. Classes on using the Internet for journalistic research introduced by one of the authors of this paper recently were designed specifically to follow the experiential learning cycle; one outcome of this approach was that issues of feelings (lack of confidence, fear, distrust) towards computer technology among students were elicited and dealt with early in the process. This enabled groups to work through the technological issues and move quickly into the much more important content, structural and credibility questions which can be addressed more directly once confidence with the technology has been established.

In this paper, we have argued that the incorporation of explicit, structured reflection, based on extensive research on adult learning in many kinds of subject areas, into the teaching and learning strategies of journalism education is worth serious consideration. The value of reflection in enhancing learners' experience in areas of professional education other than journalism has been powerfully demonstrated. Kolb (1984) addresses experiential learning in professional education extensively, and Schön's accounts of the development of reflective work in fields like architectural design, music, psychoanalysis and education (Schön, 1987) are highly encouraging as well as highly readable. Space for feedback and group discussion is widely provided in journalism education, and the changes in educators' methods required will often be quite small; our opening claim was that journalism educators would not be required to make radical changes in what they do. We acknowledge that in journalism education on all three sides of the Atlantic and Pacific, most of the research emphasis is on content and on journalists' professional practice; we would, however, welcome more work on the practice of journalism educators themselves and, recognising that all students of journalism are also adult learners, more co-operation and interdisciplinary contact between journalism educators and those who teach and research in the field of adult learning.

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Freedom For *My* Speech, But Not For *Yours*: Persistence of Stigma and Gay Liberationists' Urge To Censor in the 1970s

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Freedom for *My* Speech, But Not for *Yours*: Persistence of Stigma and Gay Liberationists' Urge to Censor in the 1970s

It is the right of free speech and press that has always conferred upon the oppressed the means by which to begin the process of ensuring their rights will no longer be trampled by an uninformed or unaccepting majority. Since the civil rights marches and student uprisings of the 1950s and 1960s, "opposition movements have become still more sensitive to the impact of the media on their messages and their identities."[1] Sociologists have long acknowledged that gaining media attention is often crucial in the effort of a marginalized or minority group to gain recognition or acceptance by society. Movements "depend on the media to generate public sympathy for their challenge."[2] Through the media, groups will engage in what one sociologist has called "moral entrepreneurship,"[3] actively attempting to change the stereotypical and stigmatized views of themselves that have held them back and held them down.

But the First Amendment allows for freedom of expression for *everyone*, not just those who agree with one's own views. What happens when the media do *not* generate public sympathy for one's cause, when they are still generating messages that perpetuate stigma and prejudice, rather than work to eradicate it? Such representations are often common in the mainstream media during the awkward beginnings of a movement, as the movement is just beginning to engage in that "moral entrepreneurship" that is so crucial to its success. While bits and fragments of the group's message may occasionally earn a spot on the nightly news, messages that counter, harass or otherwise subvert the group's aims may permeate popular programming and public discussion.

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[1] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching*(Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1980).

[2] William A. Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld, "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (July 1993): 116.

[3] Edwin M. Schur, *The Politics of Deviance: Stigma Contests and the Uses of Power* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1980), 19.

In the early 1970s, lesbians and gay men were beginning to engage in such moral entrepreneurship. These are people long kept at the margins by the mainstream heterosexual society, people often fired from their jobs because of their orientation, people frequently hit, kicked and spat upon by others. Their liberation movement in the early 1970s required a good deal of speech to achieve greater visibility so they could attempt to change the negative stereotypes that people have always used to oppress gay men and lesbians. Embroiled in moral controversy, their tactics of moral entrepreneurship were of two types: creating positive messages to put before society through the mainstream media, and eradicating negative images already in the mainstream media. Efforts of the latter type did not stop with general statements of dissatisfaction, but rather, were quite selective in nature, targeting specific networks and sometimes specific television programs or episodes of programs.

Dissenters are supposed to be champions of the First Amendment, people who rely on that protection to create the possibility for their views to be heard. Yet, in the dark and chaotic moments of a movement in its infancy, those very same dissenters will find it necessary to attempt to restrict (or at least alter) the speech of others -- those who mean them harm, or those who simply don't yet understand their plight. Lesbians and gay men employed such tactics to their advantage in the 1970s. Sometimes they effected real change, other times merely insincere promises, and sometimes only sneers of disgust.

So the curious scene of the 1970s involved gay men and lesbians -- dissenters in a First Amendment sense -- attempting to shape the messages of others to their own satisfaction. There is an internal inconsistency in a movement that relies so heavily on First Amendment freedoms to make gains in society and yet is so willing to stifle the free speech of others. This paper will examine this seeming paradox as a sort of case study to explore the dimensions of this special kind of censorship and to answer the question of whether there is reconition of and/or offered justification for the underlying hypocrisy of such censorship -- within or outside the movement itself. The role of free speech in the progress of social movements toward acceptance has been often studied; under scrutiny in this paper is the role of censorship.

Free Expression and Social Change

Public support for the free expression of those expressing unpopular views has always been low.[4] Support for the free expression of views oppositional to one's own is likely even lower. It has been argued that the protection of "free speech involves a special act of carving out one area of social interaction for extraordinary self-restraint, the purpose of which is to develop and demonstrate a social capacity to control feelings evoked by a host of social encounters."[5] The First Amendment, therefore, plays an important role in moving deviant or marginalized groups toward acceptance. As First Amendment theorist Steven H. Shiffrin explained, "[d]issent communicates the fears, hopes and aspirations of the less powerful to those in power. It . . . paves the way for change *by* those in power or *of* those in power."[6] Throughout history, in fact, the battles between groups of "dissenters" (as they are referred to in First Amendment theories) and those defending the *status quo* have shaped and molded the limits and protections of the First Amendment in the courts.[7] The ability to speak one's mind -- to voice one's opinions and to offer one's perspective -- is crucial to those on the social fringe in U.S. society.

Communications scholar Pamela J. Shoemaker has worked extensively with the nexus between deviance and mass communication, most recently addressing the concept of newsworthiness as it pertains to international news in the United States; however, some of her earlier work deals with deviance in politics and society. Most pertinently, Shoemaker has noted that the U.S. democratic ideal of a free and open marketplace of ideas is merely a myth, that in reality, few ideas are put forth in the arena of mainstream discussion that stray too far from the *status quo*.[8] Shoemaker calls deviance "an integral part" of the definition of what is newsworthy -- news values of novelty, conflict, sensationalism and prominence are all present in coverage and representation of deviant groups. Through simply deciding who is newsworthy, Shoemaker has suggested, journalists use their own "normative, statistical, or pathological conceptualizations of what is deviant" to label (and thus marginalize) certain groups of people,[9] often depicting them as "dangerous" or "trivializing" their concerns.[10]

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[4] Michael Corbett, *Political Tolerance in America: Freedom and Equality in Public Attitudes* (New York: Longman, 1982), 35. *See also*, Samuel Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

[5] L. Bollinger, *The Tolerant Society: Freedom of Speech and Extremist Speech in America* (1986), 7 (emphasis in original).

[6] Steven H. Shiffrin, *The First Amendment, Democracy, and Romance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 96.

[7] *See generally*, Margaret A. Blanchard, *Revolutionary Sparks: Freedom of Expression in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Although their work has been primarily focused on the Canadian press, Richard V. Ericson, Patricia M. Baranek and Janet B.L. Chan have concluded, through a critical and interpretive empirical analysis of news production involving a combination of social science techniques (including ethnographic observation, interviewing, "analysis of organizational documents" and content analysis), that journalists are "central agents in the social construction of social order, providing an ongoing articulation of our senses of propriety and impropriety, stability and change, order and crises."[11]

Some sort of societal mechanism is at work, then, when the *status quo* begins to change in the face of challenge from one of these dissenting deviant groups. Modern discourse on sociological theories of deviance generally suggests that marginalized or deviant groups and subcultures will attempt to change the image the public has of them, as mentioned above, through what is known as "moral entrepreneurship." To accomplish this task, groups of dissenters need to communicate with the public -- communicating one-on-one (in speeches and rallies), through the production of their own literature and or newspapers, or by gaining attention in the mainstream media.[12] What this paper suggests is that there is a fourth method or tactic used by groups to engage in this moral entrepreneurship -- altering or censoring the mainstream media messages of others -- and that this tactic is, in some sense, not in harmony with their fundamental need for the protection of free and uninhibited speech.

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[8] Pamela J. Shoemaker, "The Perceived-Legitimacy of Deviant Political Groups: Two Experiments on Media Effects," *Communication Research* 9 (April 1982): 250.

[9] Pamela J. Shoemaker, "The Communication of Deviance," in Brenda Dervin and M. Voight, eds., *Progress in Communication Sciences* 8 (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1987), 162-167.

[10] Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), 226.

[11] Richard V. Ericson, Patricia M. Baranek and Janet B.L. Chan, *Visualizing Deviance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 76-77, 356.

Focus on dissenters

This study undertakes an examination of all issues of *The Advocate* from January 1, 1970, through the end of 1979. *The Advocate*, albeit always mostly the voice of men in the gay movement (and then mostly the voice of gay men in southern California in its early days), was really the biggest national newspaper the movement had in the 1970s. Begun as a broadsheet, it switched to a more magazine-like format in the mid-'70s, and is now a regular glossy magazine, published biweekly. In any case, although it has no index, it is a tolerably good source of events that concerned the gay movement in the '70s.

The '70s -- particularly the early and mid-'70s -- were a time of "coming out," not just for individual gay men and lesbians, but also for the movement itself. The movement celebrated triumphs and suffered setbacks, enduring its growing pains in full public view. But then, that was sort of the point -- visibility, pride and pain, making the movement human for a large portion of the public that probably hadn't honestly given homosexuality much thought at all. The riots at the Stonewall Inn in 1969 more or less set the tone for the movement's identity in the first years of the '70s. Gradually, over the course of the next decade, protests and parades began to draw thousands of marchers and spectators; sodomy laws were denounced by major national organizations and churches -- and repealed in many states -- the National Organization for Women acknowledged the oppression of lesbians as a legitimate feminist concern; anti-discrimination laws began to include gays and lesbians under their protection; and the first openly gay legislator -- Elaine Noble -- was elected in Massachusetts. By the end of the decade, California's "Briggs Initiative" (providing for the firing of all gay and lesbian teachers and all teachers who alluded positively to homosexuality in the classroom) had gone down to defeat, and lesbians and gay men had a new and powerful adversary -- Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority.

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[12] Schur, *Politics of Deviance*, 19.

The study begins on January 1, 1970, when the "gay liberation movement," as it was often called, was fairly well underway. It concludes at the end of 1979, at which point the movement had gained enough acceptance to receive relatively positive coverage of its first March on Washington in October of that year, but was not yet confronted with the AIDS crisis or the Moral Majority as a formal adversary, developments that arguably altered the whole shape of the movement.[13]

The search was for evidence of *any and all* efforts on the part of lesbians and gay men to protest, censor or alter the content of news and entertainment in the mainstream media. Such efforts are very loosely called "censorship" in this paper, as they do attempt to change the content of messages that really belong to other people. Such a broad definition was intended in part to ensure that no efforts to alter or limit the speech of others would be accidentally omitted from this study. These efforts at censorship would then include, among other things, interrupting programming, calling for the cancellation of programs or episodes of programs, and pushing for the deletion of certain lines of dialog in any given program. High-pressure protest campaigns were also included. Also examined, of course, was any discussion of such efforts by those in the movement, by the editors or staff of *The Advocate*, or by readers of *The Advocate*. Every article was analyzed carefully to discover the action taken, any justifications or criticisms offered, and any discussion inside or outside the movement as to the action's efficacy or reasonableness. Was there any discussion of the hypocrisy involved in such actions? Was there any recognition of it at all?

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[13] Jeffrey Nelson, "Media Reaction to the 1979 Gay March on Washington," in James W. Chesebro, ed., *Gayspeak: Gay Male & Lesbian Communication* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1981), 59.

The Source of Their Anger

After years of oppressive attitudes, hurtful stereotypes and discrimination, gays and lesbians had finally begun to find their voices by 1970. Once one finds a voice of one's own and begins to make progress toward societal acceptance, every small step on the road to that acceptance seems magnified in its positive importance by its own difficulty. At the same time, every manifestation of those old attitudes seems magnified in terms of the damage it does.

This was the state of the gay liberation movement of the early '70s. Having achieved enough visibility to raise both confidence and expectations, lesbian and gay activists were outraged by the representations and coverage they saw and heard in the nation's news and entertainment media. In their eyes, the media were continuing to rely on the same old tired stereotypes, the same old misguided misconceptions about the lives of gay men and lesbians (see Fig. 1), in spite of ample education and information that corrected those views. The gay person on television, claimed one *Advocate* staffer in a 1974 article, was "either screamingly funny or horribly tragic, a person drawn to the bars in spite of the television pronouncement that if you've seen one gay bar you've seen them all. Unfortunately, television portrayal of homosexuals hints that if you've seen one Gay, you've seen them all, too."[14]

The offenses lesbians and gay men complained of were wide-ranging and apparently common. For instance, there were the letters written by Ann Landers that dismissed the American Psychiatric Association's official abandonment of the notion that homosexuality was an illness requiring psychiatric treatment, and instead claimed that

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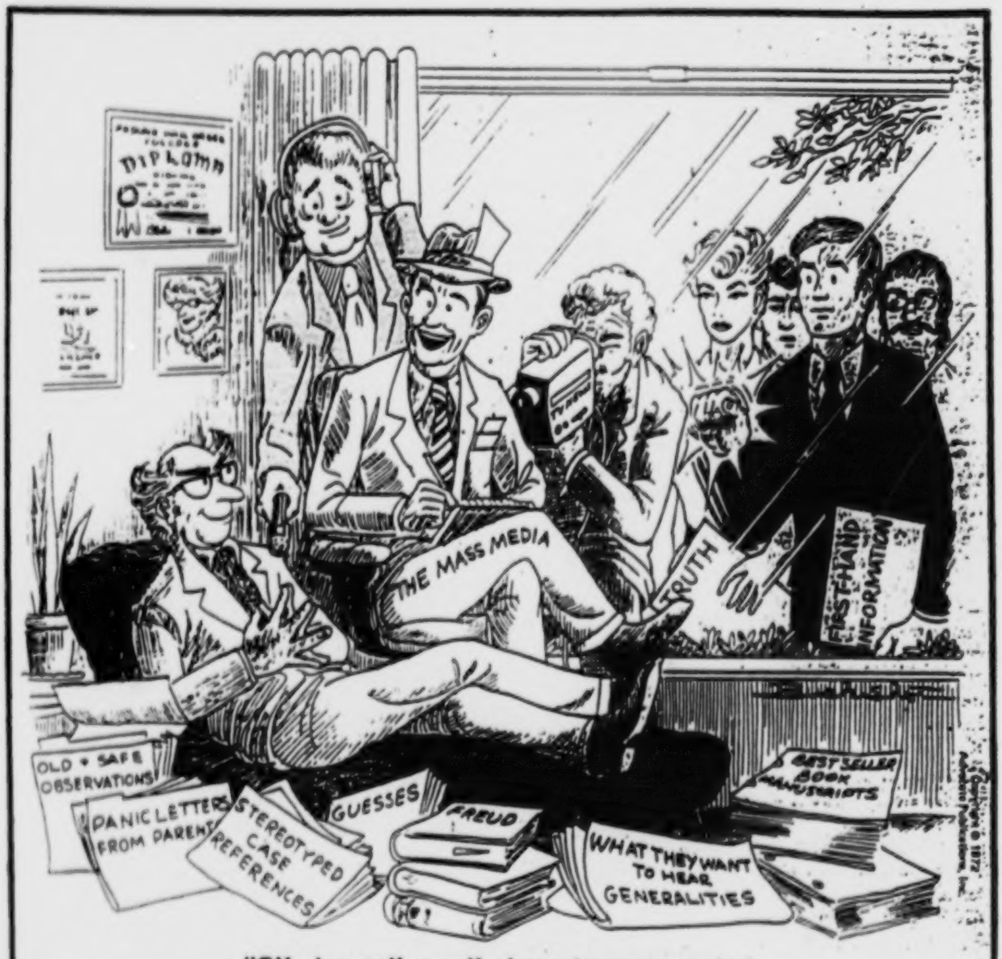
[14] T. Perew, "Gays on TV not the real thing," *The Advocate*, May 8, 1974, p. 32, 39.


DIPLOMA
THE MASS MEDIA
TRUTH
FIRST-HAND INFORMATION
OLD + SAFE OBSERVATIONS
PANIC LETTERS FROM PARENTS
STEREOTYPED CASE REFERENCES
GUESSES
FREUD
WHAT THEY WANT TO HEAR GENERALITIES
BEST SELLER BOOK MANUSCRIPTS
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"OK, doc, tell us all about homosexuals."

Fig. 1: From *The Advocate*, April 12, 1972, p. 28. This cartoon ran before the American Psychiatric Association took homosexuality off its list of mental illnesses.

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"Gays should come out of the closet . . . for treatment."[15] And there were news articles that referred to a series of killings in Houston as the "homosexual murders." The perpetrator was gay, but the act of murder is not an act of homosexuality, but rather one of psychosis. Calling the Houston killings the "homosexual murders" could only have the effect of "affirming or strengthening anti-homosexual prejudice," as staff writer for *The Advocate* pointed out in 1973.[16] And there were portrayals on network entertainment series like *Marcus Welby* that "could only incite further disdain for a minority already much abused."[17]

The reaction to such slights was sometimes a mixture both anger and confusion. "It is difficult to understand the motives of television writers," explained one *Advocate* editorial in late 1973, "without attributing outright bigotry to them."[18] It is no surprise then, that accompanying this anger and confusion was often a good amount of paranoia. An editorial cartoon in the same issue of *The Advocate* (see Fig. 2) posited an intimate connection between police -- who were always portrayed as brutal bigots who were always out to "get the queers" -- and scriptwriters for NBC's hit show "Police Story" (which also managed one or two homophobic slurs and plot lines during its run).

The paranoia and anger led easily to threats. As the above editorial went on to warn: "We now have the means to communicate with each other through our newspapers and other publications from coast to coast. We are building new national organizations. The time is approaching fast when we can mount serious economic reprisals against the bigots."[19] And the threats led quickly to action of all sorts.

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[15] "Ann Landers challenged," *The Advocate*, October 10, 1973, p. 3.

[16] Allen Young, "Het press oppresses Gays," *The Advocate*, November 7, 1973, p. 37.

[17] G. Merle Bergman, Letter to the Editor, *The Advocate*, November 20, 1974, p. 36.

[18] "The boobs & the tube," *The Advocate*, November 21, 1973, p. 36.

[19] *Ibid.*

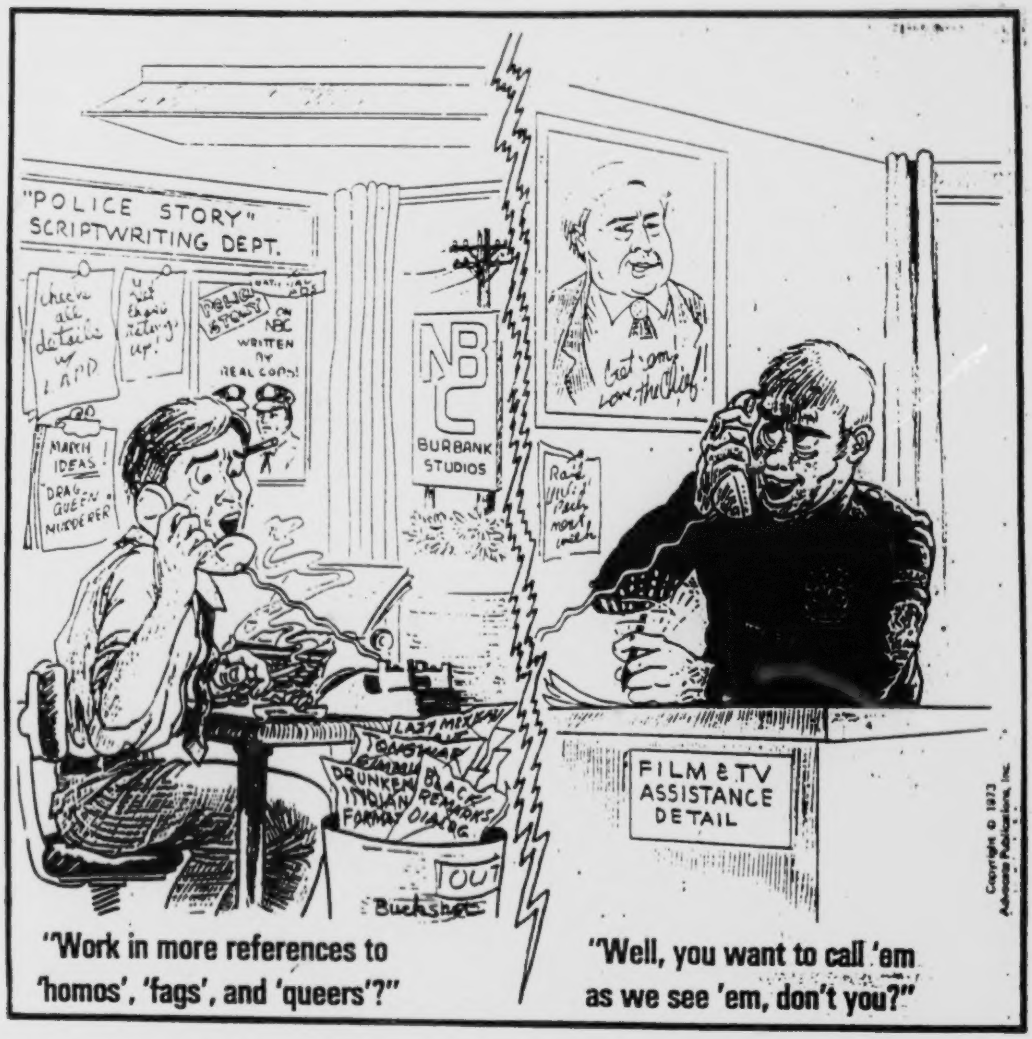
"POLICE STORY" SCRIPTWRITING DEPT.
check all details w/ LAPD
Get those ratings up!
POLICE STORY ON NBC WRITTEN BY REAL COPS!
MARCH IDEAS! "DRAG QUEEN MURDERER"
NBC BURBANK STUDIOS
LAZY MEXICAN
TONG WAR
DRUNKEN INDIAN
BLACK REMARKS
OUT
Buckshot
"Work in more references to 'homos', 'fags', and 'queers'?"
Get 'em! Love, the Chief!
Raid next week
FILM & TV ASSISTANCE DETAIL
Copyright © 1973 Advocate Publications, Inc.
"Well, you want to call 'em as we see 'em, don't you?"

Fig. 2: From *The Advocate*, November 21, 1973, p. 36. The "Police Story" television series billed itself as written by real police officers and based on true crimes. This cartoon reflects the feeling among gay activists that police were out to get them in whatever way they could, including using their influence with cop shows on TV.

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Protest and Response

Frequently, and especially early on, the actions of gay activists were relatively primitive and simplistic, sometimes even somewhat disorganized. Letter campaigns and picket lines were the most common forms of protest. Protest usually happened only after a slur had been broadcast or printed, and gay protesters were largely ignored. A telephone campaign to protest a December 29, 1972, episode of "Sanford & Son" aired in Dallas met with complete failure as a result of its own success in organization. The station was so flooded with calls that eventually "operators refused to acknowledge the calls on the main trunk line."[20] In fact, such protests were often carried out without any hope of their success. Leaders of those protesting the 1973 20th Century Fox release, "The Laughing Policeman," starring Walter Matthau, said they "despaired of getting Fox to alter the film in any way."[21]

Other campaigns of this type were mildly successful. For instance, CBS in 1973 agreed to bleep the word "fag" in its "Hollywood's Talking" game show following protests from the Los Angeles Gay Community Services Center.[22] Dick Cavett "adopted a policy of avoiding jokes that might give offense to Gays" when he was threatened with a picket line.[23] And quite frequently, station or network representatives agreed to meet with protesters -- usually not to promise to take anything in particular off the air, but rather to let the protesters know that their concerns were heard and would be taken into consideration in future programming.[24]

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[20] "Dallas groups protest NBC slap at Gays," *The Advocate*, January 31, 1973, p. 8.

[21] "Media Task Force pickets one film, eyes Fox release," *The Advocate*, December 19, 1973, p. 4.

[22] "CBS deletes 'fag' remark in game show," *The Advocate*, Mary 23, 1973, p. 30.

[23] "GAA starts campaign against Carson's fag jokes," *The Advocate*, October 27, 1971, p. 20.

[24] Sasha Gregory Lewis, "NBC lesbian segment stirs nationwide rage," *The Advocate*, December 4, 1974, p. 6. *See also*, "Paper digs deeper gay bias hole," *The Advocate*, July 31, 1974, p. 10; Jim Steakley, "The Summit Conference at NBC," *The Advocate*, February 26, 1975, p. 5; and Douglas Sarff, "Dawn victory: 30 spend the night so *Times* will listen," *The Advocate*, November 20, 1974, p. 3.

A more militant faction of the movement had gained considerable momentum in the movement's early days, however, and that portion of the movement attracted much attention from *The Advocate*. Their protests were of a more insistent nature, often including the invasion of studios and network headquarters, to engage in what were called "zaps." A zap usually involved an uninvited and unwelcome intrusion upon the private property of a television station or newspaper headquarters. At TV stations, zaps were sometimes accompanied by an interruption of live programming by gay protesters. Chanting "Gay power to the people!" members of the Gay Liberation Fellows in Philadelphia stormed into the studio during disc jockey Long John Wade's on-air broadcast on March 15, 1971. In a "lisping, falsetto voice" Wade had dedicated The Kinks' song "Lola" to "all his friends" at a nearby gay bookstore. "And now," he reportedly said afterward, "we'll have some music for straights." When the gay activists invaded his studio, Wade turned off his microphone. But a few of the protesters slipped in behind him and turned it back on, continuing their studio takeover. The station was flooded with calls, some asking that Wade be taken off the air, others responding negatively to the "gay invasion" of the studio. The incident had a galvanizing effect on station management, which said it would stand behind its top-rate disc jockey and threatened to take legal action against the Gay Liberation Fellows.[25]

An active zapper. Activist Marc Segal was perhaps the most famous of the "zappers." Segal's favorite tactic was invading a studio or network headquarters, handcuffing himself to a railing or piece of equipment, and shouting his programming objections at the top of his lungs. Segal was reported in *The Advocate* to have carried out zaps on "The Tonight Show,"[26] the "Mike Douglas Show,"[27] the "Today" show,[28] and the "CBS Evening News"[29] with Walter Cronkite at the desk. In the zap on the "CBS Evening News" -- the first of its kind ever successfully carried out on that program -- Segal posed as a college journalism student to gain access to the studio during Cronkite's broadcast. About 14 minutes into the broadcast, Segal raced forward onto the set, holding up a sign that read, "Gays protest CBS Prejudice," and shouting.

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[25] "Philly disk jockey zapped when remarks rile Gays," *The Advocate*, April 28, 1971, p. 4.

[26] "Tonight Show zapped by gay raider," *The Advocate*, March 28, 1973, p. 3.

[27] "Sneaky Segal zaps again!" *The Advocate*, June 20, 1973, p. 3.

[28] "Activists in lather over NBC slurs," *The Advocate*, November 21, 1973, p. 3, 8.

Response to zaps was usually immediate, especially in the case of those zaps that interrupted programming. Such interruptions needed to be explained -- usually only briefly and very factually -- to the viewing audience, which might have been disconcerted or concerned about the welfare of broadcasters. For example, when Segal waged his protest, the screen went to black and the sound was cut off for about 10 seconds. Such actions need to be explained. After Segal was quickly hustled from the studio, Cronkite returned to the air, smiling slightly, and said, "Well, that's a rather interesting development -- a protest demonstration right here in our CBS news headquarters. We'll try to find out what it was all about and let you know in a few moments." On the rebroadcast of the news, the story Cronkite was reading when the zap occurred was redone, and Cronkite came on live about 20 minutes into the rebroadcast. He showed the full tape of what had happened earlier, stated who the protesters were and what they were protesting, and continued the rest of the news program as usual.[30]

When the "Today" show was zapped on October 26, Segal was removed to a hallway outside the studio. Co-host Barbara Walters raced out into the hall a moment later, "followed by a producer who was ordering her to 'get back in the studio.'" Walters refused to go back in until she'd heard what Segal had to say. When she returned to the set, Walters explained to viewers that Segal was protesting "the treatment of gay people on NBC."[31]

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[29] Joe Kennedy, "Raiders pull quick opener on Cronkite," *The Advocate*, January 2, 1974, p. 2.

[30] "Raiders pull," *The Advocate*, p. 12.

[31] "Activists in lather," *The Advocate*, p. 8. It is interesting to note that when a group called the Lesbian Feminist Liberation made a zap on NBC television headquarters in New York, they were completely ignored

Immediate remedies to confusing and startling situations, these network responses did not, of course, include the alteration of all CBS and NBC programming to treat gays with the respect due them as human beings. Still, the zaps were effective on some level -- enough so that even the threat of a zap might spur a network to action. In February of 1973, the threat of a zap caused Jack Paar to apologize for having used the word "fairy" in a joke on his show. He also promised not to use the word "fairy" anymore. His displeasure was clear, however. "If you disrupt my taping, I'll call the police and have you arrested," he reportedly had told them. "You people go camping around and waving banners. I don't like your tactics." When the demands of the gay would-be zappers got too steep for him, Paar handed the phone off to his producers, who further promised that Paar would never again be "using terminology and telling jokes insulting and demeaning to Gays" and that representatives from the Gay Activists Alliance would be permitted to appear on a half-hour segment of the show.[32] (See Fig. 3.)

Protesters' actions may have been taken seriously enough to warrant an immediate Band-Aid, but not an immediate long-term remedy to the problem. Top industry officials repeatedly agreed to meet with protesters, made some promises to make them go away, and then went back on their promises months later. The most glaring example of this was the response by NBC to the National Gay Task Force's objections to an episode of the popular TV series "Police Woman," in which three lesbian characters "fraudulently operate an old folks' home" and murder residents for their money. NBC originally scheduled the episode to air October 25, 1974, but after protests, said it would scrap the segment. Later, NBC decided to air the show, but with all references to lesbians edited out. The National Gay Task Force and the Lesbian Feminist Liberation of New York City requested they be able to view the final version before it was aired, but the network refused, saying it was

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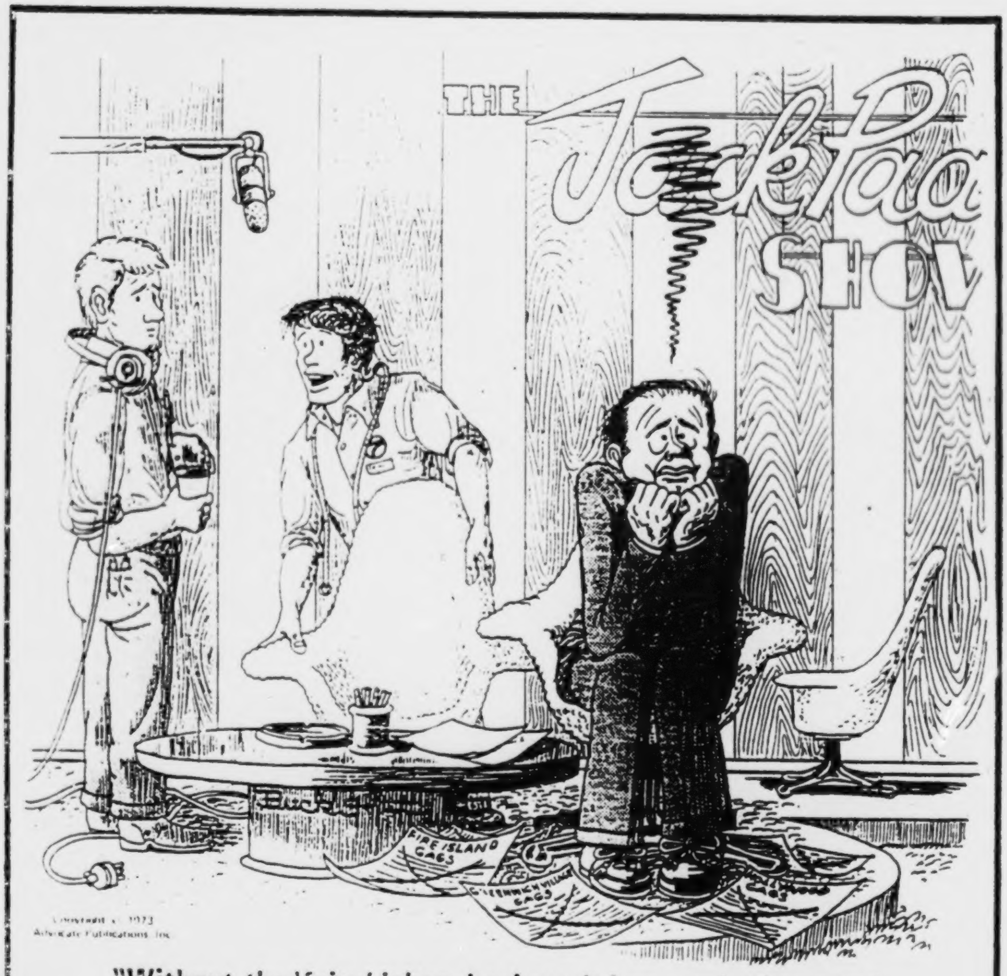
by NBC officials, and eventually decided to leave the premises when it became obvious to them that NBC had no intentions of arresting them.

[32] "Paar apologizes for using 'fairy,'" *The Advocate*, February 28, 1973, p. 6.


THE
JackPaa
SHOV
FIRE ISLAND GAGS
GREENWICH VILLAGE GAGS
GAGS
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"Without the 'fairy' jokes, he doesn't know what to say."

Fig. 3: From *The Advocate*, February 14, 1973, p. 36. Jack Paar backed down and gave in to gay activists' demands when they threatened to "zap" his show.

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"satisfied" with the show. When the show was aired on November 8, it was obvious the three murderers were lesbians. According to Jeanne Cordova, then of the Gay Media Task Force, the women were portrayed "as the stereotypical 'butch, femme, and vampire.'" And as Angie Dickenson's character breaks one of the women down into a confession, she says to her, "I don't condemn you, not at all. I've known what a love like yours can do to a person." *The Advocate* reported that many NBC affiliates didn't receive the show until a day or two before it was to be aired, and gay activists accused the network of whisking the show through "before Gays could martial an offensive."[33]

Maturation in the late '70s. Protests in the mid- and late '70s became more sophisticated. Often organized on a national level instead of strictly a local one, these protests focused not only on letter-writing campaigns to the networks airing the offensive shows, but also to the shows' sponsors[34] and to the FCC. Appeals were made to stations for "equal time" to reply to attacks on gays, and groups attempted to use the FCC's "fairness doctrine" to their advantage. Requests for "equal time" were sometimes granted and sometimes refused, even though the FCC's equal time rule really only applied to candidates for public office.

Groups attempting to use the "fairness doctrine" to their advantage were mostly turned away on the grounds that the fairness doctrine was never meant to serve as an "eye-for-an-eye and a tooth-for-a-tooth" sort of remedy. The fairness doctrine, said William B. Ray, who headed the FCC's compliance and complaints division in the mid-70s, "requires broadcasters in their *overall* programming to provide opportunity for airing of opposing viewpoints on 'controversial issues of public importance.'" (emphasis added) Ray specifically stated that the FCC had "no power to censor" unfavorable and/or harmful representations of certain groups or individuals.[35] Commissioner James Quello told gay activists in November of 1976 that broadcasters had every right to "exercise journalistic judgment," although fellow commissioner, Benjamin Hooks, countered with: "You can't serve the whites and not the blacks. You can't serve the heterosexuals and not the homosexuals."[36] But the reception at the FCC was cool, as far as gay activism was concerned.

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[33] Lewis, "NBC lesbian segment," p. 6. *See also*, "NBC orders lesbians cut," *The Advocate*, November 20, 1974, p. 2; and "Cynical double-cross," *The Advocate*, December 4, 1974, p. 36.

[34] *See*, for example, "Drive on TV smut," *The Advocate*, January 31, 1973, p. 8; "Network squirms as sponsors flee 'Welby' episode," *The Advocate*, October 23, 1974, p. 2; and "Listerine doesn't approve of Welby's taste -- so it pulls out," *The Advocate*, October 9, 1974, p. 1.

Still, the less physically threatening attacks did lead to more effective and promising change -- change that seemed, at least, that it might be permanent and real. Beginning in 1975, gays were asked to read over, critique and revise scripts scheduled for broadcast. At one point NBC asked a member of the Gay Media Task Force to give a script "his personal signature of approval before the program could be aired."[37] In May of 1975, Boston's WBZ-TV, an NBC affiliate, hired a gay woman "as a resource person for gay news." She was to "advise the station's news department of events of importance to the gay community," and "occasionally go on the air to comment on the news."[38]

The Challenges of Activism and the Validation of Censorship

There is a difference between gaining a voice of one's own and being allowed to (or getting away with) interrupting, restricting and altering the voices of others -- be they members of the "Religious Right," bigots or simply ignorant screenwriters desperate for a cheap laugh. In what was most likely an angry reaction to being ignored, dismissed and lied to, gay activists did occasionally call directly for censorship of a program. Such calls were almost always in the name of creating a better image for lesbians and gay men or correcting old stereotypes that had since been "proven" false.

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[35] David Aiken, "FCC responds to gay issues," *The Advocate*, February 12, 1975, p. 4.

[36] "FCC, Networks Hear Gay Case," *The Advocate*, December 29, 1976, p. 7.

[37] Douglass Sarff, "NBC asks for gay stamp of approval," *The Advocate*, January 29, 1975, p. 4.

[38] "Gay TV Advisor Hired," *The Advocate*, June 18, 1975, p. 4.

Aside from the "zaps" that intruded on the airtime and program content of network broadcasters, gay activists attempted to alter the content of existing scripts and to pressure networks and broadcast stations to air messages of their own -- sometimes suggesting this be at the broadcaster's expense. After a CBS affiliate in Los Angeles ran an ad in the *Los Angeles Times* that "mocked homosexuals" and lumped them in with "social misfits," gay activists drafted an ad CBS might pay for to publicly correct the offending advertisement. They further suggested CBS give a gay activist free airtime to respond to the ad.

Calls for self-censorship, of course, were most common, and this seems quite reasonable. The networks were frequently asked to cancel certain episodes of sit-coms and alter certain lines of dialogue. But occasionally such requests became demands, with threats to put some legal muscle behind those demands. Such tactics were attempted (but failed) in connection with the FCC's fairness doctrine. However, although the equal time rule didn't technically apply in a legal sense, gay activists were frequently successful in getting their way when arguing for equal time.

But other avenues of recourse at the FCC were open to gay activists. One was the threat that a broadcaster's license might not be renewed. If activists could establish a pattern of neglect and error on the part of a broadcaster, they could petition the FCC not to renew that broadcaster's license. Indeed, activists frequently encouraged their members to not only boycott the sponsors of offensive programs, but also to petition the FCC against the renewal of the license of any station that airs offensive programming.[39] The "censorship" aspect of this tactic came not so much in its being carried out (*rarely* has the FCC refused to renew a station's license), but in its being threatened (for this is a tactic also used by the FCC itself to regulate broadcasters without directly censoring their program content).

Although they did not succeed, gay activists also attempted to "insert specific language in the broadcast industry's voluntary codes that would alert radio and television broadcasters to the need for 'special sensitivity' in treating gay subjects."[40] Although such codes obviously were not legally binding, local broadcasters frequently have measured their own performance against the National Association of Broadcasters' code.

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[39] *See*, for example, "Sex-violence links censured by cleric," *The Advocate*, November 20, 1974, p. 2.

Finally, something needs to be said about the exertion of enough pressure to force self-censorship, for this was perhaps the most successful of short-term solutions for gay activists. Pressure was exerted not only to eliminate or alter the speech of others, as pointed out above, but also to force space open for gay voices to be heard. For instance, when the *Seattle Times* refused to print an ad for the Metropolitan Community Church (a church begun specifically to serve the spiritual needs of gay men and lesbians who were unwelcome in other religions and denominations), MCC Rev. Robert Sirico refused to accept the *Times*' decision. He told *The Advocate*: "I really had a fit. I told the guy, 'You may not print this MCC church announcement this week. You may not print it next week. But before I get done with the *Times*, you're going to print this thing, and I'm going to frame it and present it to you.' Then I walked out."[41] Rev. Sirico said he intended to picket and distribute leaflets outside the newspaper's downtown building, to "publicly embarrass them."[42] No one was going to literally *force* the *Times*' to do their bidding. Rev. Sirico couldn't take over the presses himself. But with enough pressure in the way of public embarrassment, perhaps any media outlet would eventually cave. This is not censorship in the strictest sense; in fact, it involves more speech, not less -- a remedy the most ardent First Amendment absolutist would heartily recommend. However, it does lead ultimately to a certain amount of self-censorship, something that has always been *decried* by First Amendment supporters.

Reactions to censorship. For the most part, such efforts at censorship were commonplace, accepted and even encouraged by activists whose views appeared regularly in *The Advocate*, without much discussion of their propriety or hypocrisy. The idea of censorship seemed to be equated more with justice on behalf of lesbians and gay men, rather than with injustice for any viewpoint opposed to or ignorant of that of the gay movement. It seems the various forms of censorship carried out by gay men and lesbians in the '70s were intended not to silence others, but to preserve the integrity of their own message.

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[40] David L. Aiken, "'No' to T.V. Code Request." *The Advocate*, June 4, 1975, p. 5.

[41] "MCC/Seattle squares off with newspaper over ad," *The Advocate*, July 5, 1972, p. 12.

[42] *Ibid.*

In discussing an episode of the "Lucy Show," one *Advocate* reader complained about the portrayal of a gay character named Walter, a "Dr. Reuben-style fairy" who "flew around rolling his eyes and flicking his wrist and generally camping it up to an unbelievable degree." The reader concluded: "All of our gay brothers in the movie and TV industries (and we are probably in the majority) must put a stop to this kind of portrayal because they are in a position to do something for all of us, and gay civil rights in general."[43]

In fact, *The Advocate*'s editorial position seemed particularly to support the guerrilla tactics of "zaps," discussed earlier. Staff writer Arthur Evans noted that television was an ideal target for zaps because "[i]t's *both* vulnerable and powerful."[44] Indeed, the zap tactic seemed to be glorified and held up as a great hope for reform. "A disruption of even a few minutes time," Evans wrote, "can cost a producer of national TV thousands of dollars. And once you start disrupting, they have to be very careful as to how they handle you -- they don't want accidental damage to all that costly equipment."[45]

The stakes were high, and those in the movement seemed keenly aware of the nature of the exposure the movement was given in the mass media, "knowing that the media are the mirror which reflects how we think about ourselves."[46] Besides a certain measure of desperation, there was also conviction about how the Federal Communication

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[43] Letter to the Editor, *The Advocate*, October 25, 1972, p. 28.

[44] Arthur Evans, "TV is vulnerable to zaps," *The Advocate*, March 14, 1973, p. 37.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] William H. DuBay, "Media exposure vital for any minority cause," *The Advocate*, June 6, 1973, p. 37.

Commission's "fairness doctrine" and various rules regarding political and public service programming ought to be applied. So not only was television particularly susceptible to zaps, but television was also particularly susceptible to a philosophical view that made it easy -- even patriotic, at times -- to censor. From the beginning, the courts and the Congress had said broadcasters were really only "renters" on the radio wave spectrum, entitled to the lease of their bandwidth only if "they have ascertained the needs and interests of the community and have offered program material meeting those needs and interests."[47] It was up to gay activists only to make sure that broadcasters knew they were part of their community, then they could begin a campaign that otherwise smacked of censorship.

Because censorship seemed so easy, so justified and so necessary, it was not often opposed -- or even referred to as "censorship" -- by the gay press. However, there were one or two voices raised in opposition to the guerrilla censorship tactics of certain factions of the movement. At times, the criticism was merely an appeal to "reason," that once gays had achieved the deletion of offensive dialog from an episode of, say, "Marcus Welby, M.D.," they should acknowledge the network's reasonableness and back off, instead of pressing further, engaging in "irrational thinking," that might alienate potential allies among the straight population.[48]

Other protesters of censorship tactics proved more philosophical in their reasoning. An *Advocate* reader in New York City disagreed with "attempts to force filmmakers and others to conform to [gay activists'] standards of what constitutes 'nice' ways of referring to Gays," calling them "unrealistic and undemocratic."[49] The reader goes on to point out that "one reason we [gays] have suffered persecution and ostracism over the years has been the attempt by straights to make *us* conform to their standards of appearance and conduct."[50]

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[47] William H. DuBay, "How to pressure radio, TV," *The Advocate*, June 20, 1973, p. 37.

[48] Lee Glaze, John Bazillo and George Drabandt, Letter to the Editor, *The Advocate*, April 11, 1973, p. 36.

[49] Robert A. Stanford, Letter to the Editor, *The Advocate*, Feb. 27, 1974, p. 40.

Still, the networks *seemed* at least to cooperate to some degree in the latter years of the 1970s, engaging in a bit of self-censorship with the help of gay advisors and "screeners" to "raise the consciousness of program personnel and those involved in pre-production."[51] With such freely given cooperation, it is really no surprise that so few voices were raised in opposition to the whole idea.

Radical tactics such as "zaps" of live programming drew attention to the movement and increased awareness of discrimination against gay men and lesbians. But it also resulted in a sneering dismissiveness on the part of broadcasters, and some amount of scorn. Less physically confrontational tactics tried later actually resulted in some real changes in mainstream media content and attitude, but would these calmer tactics have succeeded without the recognition won by the more radical tactics of the early '70s? Censorship appears to have a role in the process of social acceptance. The real struggle of any group of dissident voices would appear to be in striking some sort of balance and figuring out at what point the censorship becomes counterproductive.

There seemed to be very little discontent about such radical tactics within the movement (at least, very little discontent reported in *The Advocate*), and even less discussion of its hypocrisy outside the movement. Mostly, the reaction of those subject to the zaps appeared to be disdain and annoyance, and sometimes, perhaps, mild amusement.

Two points of caution ought to be raised here. First, this study examines only *The Advocate* as a source of information on the actions of the gay movement. This publication has clearly been dominated by news for, by and about gay men throughout most of its history (and still today, to some extent), and then probably mostly aired the views of just

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[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Newt Deiter, "1976-77 Season: The Year of the Gay?" *The Advocate*, June 16, 1976, p. 38.

one segment of the gay male population (namely the West Coast, and then primarily southern California). Much of the work carried out by lesbians during this time period, then, is probably absent from this investigation. And there likely were activists who didn't read *The Advocate* or send in stories about their actions to *The Advocate,* and who were attempting to influence the media in different ways. Their voices and efforts are not likely represented in this investigation, either.

Second, this study examines only the 1970s. It is quite possible that as the movement became more accepted and more visible it also became more threatening and more highly scrutinized. Coming under a higher scrutiny might have exposed the movement to some criticism of its attempts at censorship. In addition, as mentioned at the outset, the 1980s brought with them new challenges in the shape of AIDS and the introduction of the Moral Majority and the beginnings of a highly organized, highly effective anti-gay movement on the political right. Already in the late '70s, gay activitists began to focus their efforts more on right-wing adversaries than on mainstream media organizations or programming. This new dynamic undoubtedly illicited a different response from the gay movement. Further study is needed to see whether such questions were ever raised -- from within the movement, or from its detractors.

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Healy v. James and Campus Gay Organizations: Progress of a Movement, 1967 - 1977

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Healy v. James and Campus Gay Organizations: Progress of a Movement, 1967 - 1977

As society continues to fragment socially and politically and as "identity politics" have risen to the fore, "freedom of association" has become increasingly important in shaping the texture of our political discussion in America. Often the only way to make one's voice heard is in association with the voices of others who are of like mind and intention. It is the First Amendment that has always seemed to have conferred upon the oppressed the means by which to begin the process of ensuring their rights will no longer be trampled by an uninformed or unaccepting majority. At no time, perhaps, was this more true than during the student uprisings of the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Healy v. James*, a case in which Students for a Democratic Society sought official college recognition for a chapter on the Central Connecticut State College campus. Official university recognition brought with it certain privileges, often including (but not limited to) the following: the opportunity to hold meetings on campus; the use of campus facilities for social and political events; the ability establish of a system of dues to raise money for programs and functions; and sometimes even a share of the student activities fees that are charged along with tuition.[1] Any group obtaining official university recognition obtained the opportunity to become more visible, thus perhaps gaining in membership and influence. In addition, a group officially recognized by the university seemed more legitimate and worthwhile.

The SDS wasn't the only group of dissident voices fighting for university recognition. Gay groups, too, were often denied recognition, ostensibly out of fear that they might corrupt the morals of other students or break the law themselves at their social gatherings. Through at least the 1980s, the right of association was an important tool employed *on behalf of* gay men and lesbians in their struggle for equal rights enforceable by law.[2] However, it was not until after the students' rights case of *Healy v. James*[3] in 1972 that gay men and lesbians began successfully and regularly to employ the right of association in litigation reported at the appellate level in the United States, including at least a half dozen cases involving university recognition of gay student organizations.[4]

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[1] "Freedom of Political Association on the Campus: The Right to Official Recognition," *New York University Law Review* 46 (December 1971): 1149-1180, 1149.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court has never decided such a case in favor of gay men and lesbians based on the right of association, and although in the past (if not also currently) there seems to have been some disagreement on the bench about whether gay men and lesbians should be protected by the right of association,[5] *Healy v. James* seemed to open the floodgates for such litigation.

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[2] Although the right of association had been recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court and applied to civil rights since 1948, it had not been employed by the gay and lesbian liberation movement in the 1960s, nor was it used by individual gay men and lesbians to win employment discrimination suits during this period, as it eventually had been successfully used by Communists (*see, e.g., Schneider v. Smith*, 390 U.S. 17, 19 L.Ed.2d 799, 88 S.Ct. 682 [1968]; *Baird v. State Bar of Arizona*, 401 U.S. 1, 2 L.Ed.2d 639, 91 S.Ct. 702 [1971]; and *Law Students Civil Rights Research Council Inc. v. Wadmond*, 401 U.S. 154, 27 L.Ed.2d 749, 91 S.Ct. 720 [1971]).

[3] 408 U.S. 169, 31 L.Ed.2d. 266, 92 S.Ct. 2338 (1972). In *Healy*, the Court said the administration of Central Connecticut State College had abridged the First Amendment associational rights of student members of Students for a Democratic Society when it refused to grant them official university recognition. As long as the group agreed to abide by campus regulations, the administration could not deny recognition simply because it disagreed with the group's philosophy.

[4] In the 1990s, those fighting for gay and lesbian civil rights in the courts have begun to see the "right of association" used against them by their opponents. The right of association was first officially discovered by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1948 in the penumbra of the First Amendment (*NAACP v. Alabama*, 357 U.S. 449, 2 L.Ed.2d 1488, 78 S.Ct. 1163). Routinely used by minority and dissident groups to protect their communication, more accepted, more mainstream anti-gay groups have attempted to employ the right of association against gay men and lesbians. In 1995, the South Boston Allied War Veterans Council used it to try to exclude gays and lesbians from its Veteran's Day parade in Boston (*Hurley, et al. v. Irish-American Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Group of Boston, et al.*, 115 S.Ct. 2338, 2340, 132 L.Ed.2d 487). More recently, in 1996, the state of Colorado attempted to restrict the rights of gay men and lesbians out of "respect for the [average Colorado] citizen's freedom of association, particularly landlords or employers who have personal or religious objections to homosexuality." (*Romer v. Evans* 116 S.Ct. 1620, 1621, 134 L.Ed.2d 855.) The Veteran's Council succeeded, the state of Colorado did not.

[5] A number of 1970s cases in this area that were decided in favor of gay plaintiffs, who were mostly seeking to protect their jobs, at the state supreme court, federal district court and federal appellate court levels were denied certiorari on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court (e.g., *Acanfora v. Board of Education*, 359 F.Supp. 843 [DC Md. 1973], *aff'd* 491 F.2d 498 [CA4 Md.], *cert.den.* 419 U.S. 836, 42 L.Ed.2d 63, 95 S.Ct. 64; and *Burton v. Cascade School District Union High School*, 353 F.Supp. 254 [DC Or. 1973], *aff'd* 512 F.2d 850 [CA9 Or], *cert. den.* 423 U.S. 839, 46 L.Ed.2d 59, 96 S.Ct. 69), This must not be read as an indication of implicit support by the U.S. Supreme Court. In at least two such cases -- *Ratchford v. Gay Lib* (558 F.2d 848 [CA8 1977], *cert. den.* 434 U.S. 1080, 98 S.Ct. 1276, 55 L.Ed.2d 789 [1978]), which was decided in favor of a gay student organization seeking campus recognition, and *Rowland v. Mad River Local School District* (730 F.2d 444 [CA6 1984], *cert. den.* 470 U.S. 1009, 105 S.Ct. 1373, 84 L.Ed.2d 392 [1985]), which was decided in favor of the defendant school district that suspended and transferred a guidance counselor who "came out" as bisexual, in the course of everyday conversation, to her faculty colleagues -- dissenting

The purpose of this paper is to examine the historical record to see if there was a discernible connection between *Healy v. James* and the recognition of gay liberation groups on U.S. campuses in the early 1970s. Did the *Healy* decision really have a profound impact on the gay civil rights movement, or was it simply coincidence that cases involving recognition of campus gay groups seemed to follow on its heels?

Right of Association and Social Movements

Articles concerning the meaning and importance of *Healy v. James* generally focus on its importance as a legal precedent for students' First Amendment rights, and discuss it in the context of the *Tinker*[6] and *Hazelwood*[7] decisions. Those that do address the First Amendment right of association implications of the decision in *Healy* look primarily at later cases that dealt with gender exclusion in private clubs and the connection of those cases to college fraternities and sororities.[8]

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opinions accompanied the denial of certiorari. In *Ratchford*, Chief Justice Rehnquist, joined by Justice Blackmun, admitted the "natural tendency on the part of any conscientious court to avoid embroiling itself in a controversial area of social policy unless absolutely required to do so" (434 U.S. 1080, 1080), but said the case ought to have been heard because the split decisions by the lower courts that had heard the case indicated "that our past precedents do not conclusively address the issues central to this dispute" (434 U.S. 180, 1082). In *Rowland*, Justice Brennan, joined by Justice Marshall, felt the case should have been heard because the case raised "important constitutional questions regarding the rights of public employees to maintain and express their private sexual preferences" (470 U.S. 1009, 1009). He, too, saw fit to note that the High Court had never actually addressed the issues involved in the case, and that therefore the case raised "serious and unsettled constitutional questions relating to this issue of national importance" (470 U.S. 1009,1018).

[6] *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969). In *Tinker*, several high school students were suspended for wearing black arm bands to school to protest the war in Vietnam. The Supreme Court said the suspension was a violation of their constitutional rights. Students, the court noted, do not "shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate. Although *Tinker* pertained to high schools, legal scholar Jack E. London has noted that, in light of *Tinker*, it is "not surprising" that the early '70s spawned "a number of cases involving constitutional challenges to the actions of college administrators on first amendment grounds." (Jack E. London, "'One Step Forward, Two Giant Steps Backward' -- The Court Looks at Student Rights," *University of Miami Law Review* 27 (1973): 538-543, 540.

[7] *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier*, 484 U.S. 260, 108 S.Ct. 562 (1988).

[8] *See, e.g.*, J. Freedley Hunsicker Jr., "Counterpoint: A Constitutional Right to Party?" 21 *The Journal of Law and Education* (Spring 1992): 205-215; Gregory F. Hauser, "Social Fraternities at Public Institutions of Higher Education: Their Rights Under the First and Fourteenth Amendments," 19 *The Journal of Law and Education* (Fall 1990): 433-466; and James C. Harvey, "Fraternities and the Constitution: University-Imposed Relationship Statements May Violate Student Associational Rights," 17 *Journal of College and University Law* (Summer 1990): 11-42.

The question of whether homosexuals can be dismissed from a teaching position or told how to dress and act was addressed in several law journals in the 1970s, but only with passing reference to some vague notion of an "associational right" and never with any mention of either *Healy v. James* or its predecessor, *NAACP v. Alabama*. These works primarily focused on discrimination statutes or case law within a specific state, such as California.[9]

The importance of *Healy v. James* to the gay liberation movement is noted in an ALR Annotation[10] from 1980. The treatment is from a strictly legal, precedent-setting standpoint, lacking the historical context needed to understand not only the importance of *Healy* to the movement's progress, but also the role that right of association came to play at that moment in the movement's history and why.

The underlying issue, of course, is the nature of the role the First Amendment plays in the development of a controversial social movement. The following historical legal analysis illustrates how the right of association, as a social concept and as a legal tool, came to play such an important role in the movement for gay and lesbian equality and civil rights. The study covers a period of ten years, from 1967 to 1977 -- five years prior to the *Healy* decision, and five years after it. The focal point is the gay liberation movement news publication *The Advocate*, the biggest national newspaper the movement had in its earliest days.[11] Begun as a monthly broadsheet in 1967, *The Advocate* started publishing every other week mid-way through 1970 and went to a more magazine-like format in 1975. It is skewed, perhaps, toward gay men (as opposed to gay women) and toward the West Coast

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[9] *See, e.g.*, Neal B. Horenstein, "Homosexuals in the Teaching Profession," 20 *Cleveland State Law Review* (1971): 125-133; Robert E. Willett, "Unfitness to Teach: Credential Revocations and Dismissal for Sexual Conduct," 1973 *California Law Review* (973): 1442-1462; and J. Harvie Wilkinson and G. Edward White, "Constitutional Protection for Personal Life Styles," 62 *Cornell Law Review* (March 1977): 563-625.

[10] "Annotation: Validity, Under First Amendment and 42 USCS, of Public University's Refusal to Grant Formal Recognition to, or Permit Meetings of, Student Homosexual Organizations on Campus," 50 A.L.R. Fed. 516 (1980).

[11] Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 84 and 88.

(and Los Angeles, in particular, where it is headquartered). But, although it has no index, it is a tolerably good source of events that concerned the gay civil rights movement in the 1970s.

This study undertakes an examination of all issues of *The Advocate* from January 1, 1967, about five years before a decision was handed down in *Healy* by the U.S. Supreme Court (and about three years before the SDS began its court battle), through the end of 1977, roughly five years after the *Healy* decision was handed down. The search was for any evidence of efforts on the part of gay collegians to gain recognition, access to campus facilities or university funding, and for evidence of what those efforts were philosophically or legally based on -- ideals of equality and non-discrimination, First Amendment free speech and associational rights, or something else entirely.

The three appellate-level cases involving campus recognition of gay groups that were decided during the ten years studied -- *Gay Students Organization of University of New Hampshire v. Bonner*,[12] *Gay Lib v. University of Missouri*,[13] and *Gay Alliance of Students v. Matthews*[14] -- are also examined for their reliance on *Healy v. James*, and the original *Healy* Supreme Court decision has been examined, as well. In addition, the context of the gay rights movement itself, as well as the climate for acceptance of gays on college campuses at the time is taken into consideration.

A Bold New Climate of Activism

The first story about gay campus organizations to appear in *The Advocate* was printed in February of 1970,[15] when it noted the University of Minnesota's Assembly Committee on Student Affairs had unanimously recognized a new club called FREE, or

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[12] 509 F.2d 652 (CA1 1974).

[13] 416 F.Supp. 1350 (W.D. Mo. 1976), *rev'd*, 558 F.2d 848 (CA8 1977), *cert. den.*, 98 S.Ct. 1276 (1978).

[14] 544 F.2d 162 (CA4 1976).

[15] Although the search in this study began in 1967, no articles concerning campus organizations were found before February of 1970.

Fight Repression of Erotic Expression. Gay men and lesbians were just beginning a period of vocal militancy. The Stonewall Inn riots of late June and early July, 1969, had given rise to a new awareness of "gay power" around the country.[16] It was a turning point in the movement that marked the beginning of efforts by the gay movement to remove the stereotypes that had plagued them for so long, commonly held beliefs that gays were mentally ill, depraved, preying on innocent children and generally abnormal. Gay men and lesbians were "out" about their sexual orientation and, having a taste of freedom, were hungry for equality with the rest of the population in terms of civil rights. They were fighting against housing and employment discrimination, against unfair treatment by police, against the labeling of their erotica as "obscene," and against the denial of the authenticity of their spirituality by most mainline churches.[17]

A good portion of the activists' efforts at this time seemed divided between fighting for the repeal of sodomy laws and pushing for real change in the representation of gays in the mass media -- primarily in television news and entertainment. The "flavor" of the movement shortly after the Stonewall Inn riots was very activist, and in some quarters, somewhat militant. Activists staged protests of major networks and even sometimes staged what were called "zaps" -- militant, physical intrusions interrupting live programming. Zappers -- the most prominent of which was a man named Marc Segal -- would run, shouting, out onto the set, usually carrying signs protesting biased coverage or stereotypical

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[16] The Stonewall Inn riots took place on June 26, 1969, after police raided a gay bar (The Stonewall Inn) on Christopher Street, in Greenwich Village in New York City. Onlookers trapped police in the bar at one point and set it afire. Bottles were thrown, fights ensued, and in the end four policemen were injured. Several nights of angry riots followed and a new gay activism was born. Gay newspapers sprung up throughout the country and angry protest became the change agent of choice for a very vocal faction of the movement, mostly a younger crowd. See generally, Leigh W. Rutledge, *The Gay Decades* (New York: Penguin Books USA Inc., 1992); Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Donn Teal, *The Gay Militants* (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1971); Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: the Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber Inc., 1995); and James B. Levin, *Reflections on the American Homosexual Rights Movement* (New York: The Scholarship Committee, Gay Academic Union of New York City, 1983).

[17] *See generally*, Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

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representations of gays, and sometimes handcuffing themselves to props or equipment. Such zaps were carried out on "The Tonight Show,"[18] the "Mike Douglas Show,"[19] the "Today" show,[20] and the "CBS Evening News"[21] with Walter Cronkite at the desk. Several other shows were threatened with zaps, but met activist demands to avoid them. The visibility of lesbians and gay men was undoubtedly on the rise.

Still, such militant provocations rarely resulted in a satisfactorily respectful response. Network executives repeatedly agreed to meet with activists, made some promises to make them go away, and then went back on their promises months later.[22] In fact, a September 29, 1971, editorial in *The Advocate* suggested that "the Gay Libs made a lot of noise, . . . scared off all support, and are dying off one by one."

The Advocate was encouraged, though, by the new student movement emerging on campuses. "There is strong evidence," it continued, "that between the hard conservatives and the intolerant radicals, young Gays are finding the middle ground productive. . . . It seems to be a formula that can win the widespread support that the GLF's never were able to get." The editorial's reference to "GLF's" is a reference to those in the Gay Liberation Front, a particularly angry and militant organization that also had a few campus chapters around the country.

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[18] "Tonight Show zapped by gay raider," *The Advocate*, March 28, 1973, p. 3.

[19] "Sneaky Segal zaps again!" *The Advocate*, June 20, 1973, p. 3.

[20] "Activists in lather over NBC slurs," *The Advocate*, November 21, 1973, p. 3, 8.

[21] Joe Kennedy, "Raiders pull quick opener on Cronkite," *The Advocate*, January 2, 1974, p. 2.

[22] The most glaring and insulting example of this was the response by NBC to the National Gay Task Force's (NGTF) objections to an episode of the popular TV series "Police Woman," in which three lesbian characters "fraudulently operate an old folks' home" and murder residents for their money. NBC first promised to scrap the show, then decided to air it, but with all references to lesbians taken out. Activists said they wanted to see the edited version before the segment aired, but NBC refused. NBC did not even give its affiliates enough time to screen the segment before deciding whether to air it. It was obvious, in the version finally aired, that the three murderers were lesbians. [Sasha Gregory Lewis, "NBC lesbian segment stirs nationwide rage," *The Advocate*, December 4, 1974, p. 6; *see also*, "NBC orders lesbians cut," *The Advocate*, November 20, 1974, p. 2, and "Cynical double-cross," *The Advocate*, December 4, 1974, p. 36.]

It has been noted that "the most litigious situs for politically oriented gay groups seeking to preserve their freedom of association has been the college campus."[23] Indeed something was afoot on college campuses. This was where all the political action was -- anti-war protests, draft protests, and protests concerning the "depersonalization and social inequities of ethnic minorities," all took center stage in the halls of academe.[24]

Collegiate gay men and lesbians had their own set of concerns, and conditions were beginning to change rapidly. Not only were gays beginning to win recognition for their campus organizations, but courses about homosexuality were entering the curriculum of psychology, sociology, anthropology and English departments. The first course offered was a course in homophile studies at the University of Nebraska. Although one regent disapproved of the course because it advocated "making acceptable something abnormal and unnatural," the course survived and was offered in the fall semester of 1970. Nebraska officials had pointed to the Hooker Report, "the product of a 14-member task force headed by Dr. Evelyn Hooker of UCLA," which recommended the creation of such courses. Apparently the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare also had seen the outline of the Nebraska course and suggested other universities might pattern their homophile courses after it.[25] Other universities did follow suit. In fact, so popular were the new courses that a National Gay Student Center grew out of the Gay Caucus of the 1971 National Student Association Congress. It was the Center's job to monitor and provide resources for gay studies courses. It kept syllabi of gay studies courses from across the nation on file.[26]

Nebraska later established a gay studies program, or at least, a coordinated set of courses in various departments throughout the university that focused on gay issues. The first such program, however, is believed to have arisen at Sacramento State University in California, in the fall of 1972. It consisted of three separate courses, offered in conjunction with a new Gay Studies Center established on campus. Gay men and lesbians at Sacramento State attributed their success in establishing the program to their recent "high visibility" on campus. Two openly gay faculty members had recently been promoted and granted tenure at the university, and just over one year earlier, the Society for Homosexual Freedom had won recognition as a campus organization in a favorable ruling handed down by a California Superior Court judge.[27]

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[23] Paul Siegel, "Lesbian and Gay Rights as a Free Speech Issue: A Review of Relevant Caselaw," *Journal of Homosexuality* 21 (1986): 203-259, 217.

[24] Mona G. Jacqueney, *Radicalism on Campus: 1969-1971* (New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1972), 21.

[25] "U. of Nebraska Homo course ready," *The Advocate*, August 19 - September 1, 1970, p. 10.

[26] Randy Shilts, "What's Happening With Gay Studies U.S.A.?" *The Advocate*, June 18, 1975, p. 9.

The mood on college campuses was certainly more liberal, more accepting, more open to new ideas and the challenges of a changing world than some other societal institutions. But the movement itself was undergoing change, as well. The Gay Activists Alliance (GAA, pronounced "gay") formed in New York City in 1970, a more conservative alternative to the Gay Liberation Front, yet more activist and open than the Mattachine Society[28] that began in the 1950s. GAA's constitution stated it would confront politicians, push for test cases of sodomy laws, and fight "discrimination in government, state, and private employment."[29]

In fact, such employment discrimination was not entirely uncommon on college campuses. A 1974 letter to the president of the University of Cincinnati reportedly documented the creation, ten years earlier, "of a faculty committee for 'ferreting out homosexual faculty and students.'" The letter said that "six students and seven teachers were investigated by the committee," and that one dean said he "regularly asked prospective teachers if they were gay and advised them to seek jobs elsewhere if they were." According to *The Advocate*, the pressure caused the University of Cincinnati president to formally forbid discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation on June 3, 1974.[30]

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[27] Sasha Gregory, "Gay studies program formed," *The Advocate*, August 16, 1972, p. 9.

[28] Founded in the 1950s, the Mattachine Society was known for its conservatism, hoping to "achieve tolerance of homosexuality by accommodating to heterosexual America in action as well as thought." (Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*, 20.)

[29] Dr. Leo Louis Martello, "Gay Activists Alliance Forms in New York City," *The Advocate*, March 1970, p. 1.

In the summer of 1970, the University of Minnesota Board of Regents voted to deny James McConnell a cataloguing librarian's job on campus -- "six weeks after he applied for a marriage license with his lover of four years." The university said it was rejecting McConnell for the job not because he was gay, but because "he publicly expressed his beliefs and made no secret of them."[31]

In 1971, California State College let a gay sociology professor go. The college said the professor's homosexuality was not the reason for his dismissal. The professor in question said he believed the reason was his "open participation in Gay Lib activities," and then wryly admitted he was probably not being let go because he is gay. He claimed there were "plenty of homosexuals on the staff, and charged that as long as they work twice as hard as anyone else, keep their sexuality at least half closeted, and do the administration's dirty work, the college is only too glad to keep them on."[32]

A more serious incident took place at the University of Missouri - Columbia in early 1973. An editorial in the nearby Mexico, Mo., *Ledger* reported that some male faculty members routinely "show up in class wearing silk stockings, women's blouses, and women's pants-suit pants." It also said one professor "outed" himself to his freshmen students, told them there was nothing they could do about it and said, "Oh yes, one more thing: I like for the nice looking boys to sit on the front rows." The editorial prompted a lawmaker to call for "an investigation of out-spoken homosexual faculty members" at the university. The representative said his real quarrel with the situation was that the openly gay professors seemed to use the classroom as a "'privileged platform' to express their views," and he complained that it's hard to fight such abuse "without being 'hit with First Amendment freedoms.'" Meanwhile, the university began its own investigation.[33]

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[30] "Cincinnati U president declares sex bias ban," *The Advocate*, July 17, 1974, p. 16.

[31] "Minnesota U. Senate backs gay librarian," *The Advocate*, March 31, 1971, p. 8. Interestingly, McConnell's lover, Minnesota law student Jack Baker decisively won a campus-wide election for president of the student association in April of 1971. By then, *The Advocate* said, Baker had become "one of the nation's best-known homosexuals through his vigorous advocacy of gay rights." He had scored an upset victory over a young man who was "vice president of the student association, president of the West Bank Student Union, a student senator, ex-Marine, and anti-war activist," who had been the heavy favorite. [Lars Bjornson, "Minnesota students elect gay president," *The Advocate*, April 28, 1971, p. 1.

[32] "Gay prof fired at Cal State," *The Advocate*, June 16, 1971, p. 9.

Problems for gay teachers were often worse at the high school level, but even there, change was in the works. By 1973, some high schools had already officially recognized gay student groups.[34] And despite protests from groups such as Concerned Parents in California, some high school "family life education" and sex education courses began to include lectures on homosexuality that did not speak of it as abnormal or perverted.[35]

Genesis of a gay movement on campus

Campus groups like that recognized without much controversy at the University of Minnesota on October 24, 1969 (FREE), were rare. For most campus gay groups, the struggle for recognition was a long and expensive one, filled with plenty of victories and enough setbacks to match. Recognition was withheld mostly out of fear of reprisal. If the university administration officially recognized a gay group, the university might look like it was endorsing sodomy, an illegal act in most states in the early '70s, and the large donations and endowments from wealthy (read "conservative") donors that universities rely on so heavily might dry up completely.[36]

Already in May of 1970, Sacramento State's Associated Students president, Steve Whitmore (whom *The Advocate* called "an admitted heterosexual"), claimed such denial of recognition was in violation of "the right to freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and self-determination." About the same time, on the other side of the continent, Students for a Democratic Society had just won the first round in its battle for official university recognition. It had been granted an "opportunity to be heard" by the U.S. District Court for Connecticut, partly on the grounds that the First Amendment extends associational protection *especially* to political organizations.[37] Whitmore never mentioned the *Healy* case, and it is doubtful he had heard of it when he made his statement to *The Advocate*. It is important to note that Whitmore was working in an extremely open environment. Sacramento State, recall, was home to what is believed to have been the first Gay Studies program in the United States. Sacramento State ended up setting a legal precedent of its own. On February 9, 1971, California Superior Court Judge William M. Gallagher required the college to recognize the Society for Homosexual Freedom "on the same terms as other student organizations."[38]

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[33] "Lawmaker rails at gay profs," *The Advocate*, April 25, 1973, p. 16.

[34] "High schools allowing gay organizations," *The Advocate*, May 9, 1973, p. 11.

[35] "Victory in school," *The Advocate*, December 18, 1974, p. 1.

[36] See "Student group to fight for recognition at USC," *The Advocate*, May 12, 1971, p. 2.

By this time, the SDS back in Connecticut had already *lost* its first major battle in court. After receiving the hearing to which it was entitled, the SDS was still denied recognition as a campus organization. It returned to the U.S. District Court for Connecticut, but was denied any assistance in forcing recognition. The judge there said that being denied official recognition on campus did not preclude the group from organizing off-campus, and that would be good enough.[39] The SDS appealed the District Court decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. Avoiding the constitutional question of a right of association, the Court of Appeals, on July 15, 1971, ordered that because of the vagueness of SDS's application for official recognition, SDS had "no constitutional or other right to claim the college's stamp of approval upon their organization."[40] The Court emphasized its holding in the case was narrow, which left open the question of whether First Amendment associational protection would extend this far, and left campus groups guessing whether they had a legal leg to stand on in a fight for recognition.

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[37] *Healy v. James*, 311 F.Supp. 1275, 1279-1280 (1970).

[38] "Judge orders college to recognize gay club," *The Advocate*, March 17, 1971, p. 1.

[39] *Healy v. James*, 319 F.Supp. 113 (1970).

[40] *Healy v. James*, 445 F.2d 1122, 1131 (1971).

And whether to fight for recognition was the real question for many gay groups. The typical campus recognition process required approval first by some sort of student organizations group, a committee or association set up to decide which groups are legitimate and which are not. Usually gay groups had no problem passing this first step. The Gay Liberation Front received that initial nod of approval at the University of Kansas in September of 1970;[41] by March of 1972, a federal district court was reported to have denied the group court-ordered recognition.[42] The Gay Liberation Forum at the University of Southern California (not to be confused with the more militant and radical Gay Liberation Front) was granted tentative approval by the dean for student life in March of 1971; but even this approval was not good enough, as the USC board of trustees (which did not normally need to approve campus groups) reportedly voted to deny the group full recognition on April 14, 1971.

Because of defeats like these, some campus gay groups hesitated on the question of whether to seek official university recognition. The gay liberation group at the University of Missouri - Columbia fell into this category. A professor of psychiatry at the school said the group was not likely to receive recognition "because it would give the legislature an excuse to cut the school's budget."[43] The Missouri group eventually did decide to seek recognition. It became one of the major battles in the campus gay movement, taking its case all the way to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in 1977.[44]

Many of the battles fought in 1970 and 1971 were very hard-fought. Gay liberation groups at both the University of Texas - Austin and at the University of Tennessee - Knoxville faced several defeats at the hands of university administrators, but still fought on, largely because of solid student support campuswide.[45] But the Sacramento State decision in February of 1971 had at least made it easier for other gay organizations on *California* campuses to demand official recognition. Undertaking a process to select an attorney to represent the Gay Life Students Union at California State College at Fullerton in July of 1971, an ACLU spokesman said "the ACLU is 'most aware of such legal precedents as the Sacramento State College case.'"[46] The Cal State - Fullerton Gay Students' Union won its charter in December of 1971, with substantial ACLU assistance.

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[41] "GLF held eligible for Kansas campus," *The Advocate*, October 14 - 27, 1970, p. 2.

[42] Leo E. Laurence, "A screaming, militant response if OU balks?" *The Advocate*, March 29, 1972, p. 8.

[43] "GLF debates recognition," *The Advocate*, April 28, 1971, p. 15.

[44] Gay Lib v. University of Missouri, 558 F.2d 848 (1977).

The fight may have been a bit more difficult in other parts of the country. Where there was no legal precedent with which to threaten administrators, student groups had to worry about court costs and attorney's fees. In several *Advocate* articles, it was noted that the gay groups involved were attempting to raise funds, and an address to which one could send checks of support was often included in the last paragraph.[47]

By early 1972, demands for official recognition were becoming more insistent. Citing the existence of hundreds of gay organizations across the United States (not all of them on college campuses, obviously), groups began to call for a "screaming, militant response" from fellow students if denied recognition, and like feminists and civil rights protesters before them, they began to carry out protests and sit-ins to win recognition without having to go to court.[48] The SDS argued its case before the U.S. Supreme Court on March 28, 1972. That same day, on the other side of the continent, the Gay Liberation Forum at the University of Southern California sought a permanent injunction, asking the

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[45] See Neal Parker, "Gay Lib at U. of Texas: lost battle is not the war," *The Advocate*, Jan. 20, 1971, p. 8; "Knoxville GLF fights for school recognition," *The Advocate*, June 9, 1971, p. 4; and "GLF joins Tenn. student body with special status," *The Advocate*, June 23, 1971, p. 13.

[46] "Cal State prexy nixes Fullerton gay group," *The Advocate*, July 21, 1971, p. 27.

[47] *See, e.g.*, "Penn State suspends group's rights," *The Advocate*, June 9, 1971, p. 4; "GLF joins Tenn. student body with special status," *The Advocate*, June 23, 1971, p. 13; "Kunstler will take Kansas University gay case to court," *The Advocate*, August 18, 1971, p. 1; "Kansas U seeks student views on GLF recognition," *The Advocate*, October 13, 1971, p. 2; and "$10,000 suit filed against U. of Texas," *The Advocate*, January 19, 1972, p. 10.

[48] Leo E. Laurence, "A screaming, militant response if OU balks?" *The Advocate*, March 29, 1972, p. 8.

USC Board of Trustees to "'secure the rights of homosexuals to meet on campus' as protected by the First and 14th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution." Again, this was a somewhat unusual basis on which to found this request. Most of the gay groups reported on in *The Advocate* had sought recognition based on arguments of non-discrimination and equality with other groups on campus. The claim for First Amendment protection was especially odd coming from a student organization at a private college, where there was no obvious state action, and therefore no sure-fire reason the First Amendment ought to apply to their situation. This could be the reason the ACLU had a hard time finding a lawyer who would take the case of the Gay Liberation Forum at USC.[49] The trouble finding a lawyer caused delays, and the group's injunction was eventually denied on the grounds that its "petition wasn't timely."[50]

On June 26, 1972, the SDS finally won its battle for recognition. The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously decided that the burden was on the university's administration to justify denial of official recognition to a campus group, and that a university administration's disagreement with the philosophy of a group and its fears of disruption were not enough to justify denial of official university recognition to that campus group. This last part of the decision was of great importance to gay groups, who were routinely denied recognition, not only because such recognition might imply approval and scare away donors and legislative appropriations, but also because of fear that their presence would corrupt younger students, or that they would break state laws (against sodomy) at their meetings.[51] In September, *The Advocate* ran an article speculating that the "'sleeper' decision" of *Healy v. James* might be a key one for campus gay groups.[52]

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[49] "USC suit challenging private college," *The Advocate*, April 26, 1972, p. 7.

[50] "USC suit stalled; couldn't get lawyer," *The Advocate*, May 10, 1972, p. 6.

[51] *See, e.g.*, "Kentucky campus group wins round on appeal," *The Advocate*, January 3, 1973, p. 18.

[52] "Key ruling for campus gay groups?" *The Advocate*, September 27, 1972, p. 1.

But the High Court did note that if any student group was found to have violated any campus regulations or broken any laws, they could of course be denied recognition or have their recognition revoked. This became the new cornerstone of arguments against gay groups. In fact, the attorney for the University of Missouri - Columbia claimed, "These people [gays] when they get together, are going to breach the sodomy law . . . a homosexual cannot stop himself."[53]

But activists and their lawyers on the other side of the fence had different ideas about the usefulness of *Healy*. In October of 1972, lawyers for the University of Kansas Gay Liberation Front said they expected the decision from the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit to be favorable. "I base my optimism," said one of the lawyers, "on a similar case of *Healey v. James* [sic] in Maryland [sic] regarding SDS and university campus recognition."[54] In fact, the decision may have caused gay groups to feel a bit heady. That same month, a new gay student group at the University of Pittsburgh said it didn't expect any resistance to its application for recognition.[55] The ACLU expressed interest in the University of Missouri case in November of 1972, and although he was not specific, one of the student gay libbers noted that "from the precedents that have been set, there isn't too much question about winning the suit," should it come to that.[56]

Victory and courage became more common for gay groups after *Healy*. Late in 1972, a federal district court ordered the University of Georgia to allow the Committee for Gay Education at that university to use its facilities for dances. The court said the university "violated the First Amendment rights of the committee in denying facilities for a dance."[57]

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[53] "Would You Recognize One?" *The Advocate*, May 4, 1977, p. 17.

[54] "Kansas GLF case in court," *The Advocate*, November 8, 1972, p. 20.

[55] "Pitt Gays hoping for school okay," *The Advocate*, November 8, 1972, p. 20.

[56] "U. of Missouri GLF suit awaits outcome of talks," *The Advocate*, November 22, 1972, p. 20.

[57] "University ordered to let Georgia collegians hold dance," *The Advocate*, January 3, 1973, p. 9.

The University of Kentucky Gay Liberation Front won the approval of the University Appeals Board, which recommended the university recognize the organization as a student group after GLF cited the *Healy* case and noted its own "pledge to obey university rules and regulations."[58]

Meanwhile, at the University of Missouri, the dean of student affairs rejected the Gay Liberation group's application for recognition. The group immediately appealed this decision to the university president, noting that "the Gay Lib struggle now has become a question of violation of constitutional rights, an abridgement of the right of assembly and the lack of academic freedom on the UMC campus."[59] The group's appeal was immediately denied by University President C. Brice Ratchford, who said that homosexuality is generally regarded in the state of Missouri as "a socially repugnant concept" and "non-recognition of an organization promoting such a concept is not an infringement of any rights or freedoms."[60] In the end, it was the president who was wrong. On June 8, 1977, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit said the university had insufficient grounds on which to justify denial of recognition, and called this denial a "prior restraint on the right of a group of students to associate."[61] The Court of Appeals did cite *Healy* in its decision. However, by 1977, it also had two other campus gay group decisions to further bolster its opinion -- *Gay Students Organization of the University of New Hampshire v. Bonner*[62] and *Gay Alliance of Students v. Matthews.*[63]

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[58] "Kentucky campus group wins round on appeal," *The Advocate*, January 3, 1973, p. 18.

[59] "U. of Missouri spurns Gay Lib," *The Advocate*, April 11, 1973, p. 20.

[60] "'Old Missou' prexy denies gay group recognition," *The Advocate*, April 25, 1973, p. 16.

[61] *Gay Lib v. University of Missouri*, 558 F.2d 848, 849 (1977), *cert.den.* 434 U.S. 1080, 98 S.Ct. 1276, 55 L.Ed.2d 789.

[62] 509 F.2d 652 (1974).

[63] 544 F.2d 162 (1976).

The University of New Hampshire case arose in 1974, amidst a flurry of recognition fights at other universities, including the University of Missouri - Kansas City,[64] the University of Kentucky,[65] and the California State Polytechnic College.[66] The New Hampshire case was somewhat special, however, because the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit had granted the Gay Students Organization the right to hold its *social functions* on campus, in campus facilities. The decision was hailed as actually *extending* the *Healy* decision beyond purely political expression on campus to social expression as well.[67]

Following closely on the heels of the New Hampshire decision was a suit in federal district court seeking damages of $15,000 from Tulane University because of an alleged conspiracy to deny Gay Student Union members their constitutional rights.[68] The group apparently then published a history of its organization for use by others interested in forming gay student organizations.[69]

On October 28, 1976, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit handed down its decision that gay students' First Amendment rights of association were violated when Virginia Commonwealth University refused to recognize the Gay Alliance of Students there. The court once again relied heavily on *Healy v. James*, but also cited the New Hampshire decision described above. VCU administration had rested its denial of recognition on the notion that recognition of the group "would tend to attract other homosexuals to the University."[70]

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[64] "Kansas City group joins recognition fight," *The Advocate*, June 20, 1973, p. 15.

[65] "U. of Kentucky denial upheld," *The Advocate*, November 7, 1973, p. 8; and U. of Kentucky gay group takes battle to higher court," *The Advocate*, January 16, 1974, p. 5.

[66] "Next step, Supreme Court," *The Advocate*, September 25, 1974, p. 11.

[67] George Whitmore, "Student group wins in court," *The Advocate*, January 29, 1975, p. 5.

[68] "Plea for Recognition," *The Advocate*, February 26, 1975, p. 11.

[69] "Tulane GSU Offers Its Experience," *The Advocate*, February 26, 1975, p. 5.

[70] 544 F.2d 162, 166-167 (1976).

But by 1976, things were beginning to quiet down. Certainly there were still many battles to be fought, but by September *The Advocate* called the campus mood "mellow" and noted that "the collegiate gay movement has taken a turn toward moderation." The *Advocate* editorial noted that "more and more gay students seem to be coming out on campus," and that "[v]irtually every university in the country has a gay organization, and ever-increasing numbers of smaller schools are seeing gay campus groups spring up." With this, *The Advocate* began a special series of lengthy reports on campus gay organizations because it saw "in this campus trend toward services and socialization a maturation of our movement and its organizations."[71]

The importance of *Healy* to gay collegians

It is clear from this evidence that the campus gay movement was in full swing before *Healy* was handed down. Both the campus gay movement and the SDS grew out of a tempestuous time of radicalism and protest on college campuses. The *Healy* decision *did* have a profound impact on the gay campus movement. Without the success of the SDS to point to, campus gay groups might have been intimidated by high court costs, unwilling or unable to fight for recognition (as happened so often before the *Healy* decision was handed down). But it is noteworthy that the *Gay Students Organization of University of New Hampshire* (1974) also was pivotal to the recognition of campus gay groups. A fundamental point in the *Healy* decision seemed to be that the SDS was a political organization, and for that reason ought especially to be protected by the First Amendment. Clearly there was a strong political component to these gay student organizations, but there was also a strong social component, as well. The groups' activities represented a good place for gay men and lesbians to congregate, meet one another, find solidarity of purpose and feeling. The New Hampshire decision assured gay groups that their social function was also recognized by the courts as important. The decision in the New Hampshire case was at the Court of Appeals level and was not therefore as strong a precedent as *Healy*, which went to the High Court.

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[71] "The Campus Mood is Mellow," *The Advocate*, September 8, 1976, p. 23.

But it was still an important moral victory for those in the other ten circuits across the country. And, as it turned out, the New Hampshire case was cited favorably in subsequent Court of Appeals rulings in other circuits, as well.

Had the *Healy* decision not existed at all, it is likely the campus gay movement still would have found its way to recognition and acceptance. Progress probably would have proven a bit slower and much more difficult, as campus gay organization cases reaching the appellate level all relied so heavily on the *Healy* decision. Then again, perhaps a similar case would have passed under the nose of the Supreme Court at some point and become the test case that *Healy* did.

However, had the *Healy* decision been a decision *un*favorable to the SDS, the success of the campus gay movement would have been much less clear. With a ruling specifically stating that official recognition of SDS -- a *political* group -- was not protected to some extent by a First Amendment right of association, it is doubtful that campus gay groups, which were largely social in nature at the time, would have obtained such protection either. Then again, perhaps an unfavorable decision in *Healy* would merely have caused gay groups to switch tactics, emphasizing more their educational role at the university, and dramatically underplaying their social role. Such a maneuver might have won them support before having to go to court to win recognition, but it also might have reduced their efficacy as a forum for affinity and affirmation among collegiate lesbians and gay men.

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ABILITY GROUPING OF MEDIA WRITING STUDENTS: CLOSING THE COMPETENCE GAP IN MECHANICAL SKILLS

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ABILITY GROUPING OF MEDIA WRITING STUDENTS: CLOSING THE COMPETENCE GAP IN MECHANICAL SKILLS

ABSTRACT

Set in the context of research that examines tools to improve journalism students' writing skills, this field study explored the relationship between ability grouping of mass media writing students and improved competence in mechanical skills, such as grammar and Associated Press style. Students in Media Writing and Information Gathering (N=73) were placed into two ability groups, remedial and regular, depending on their score on the Language Skills Test, an exam given before students were permitted to register for the course. Instructors for all sections -- whether regular or remedial -- drilled students throughout the 15-week semester on Associated Press style such as capitalization, abbreviations, numerals, punctuation and spelling. Instructors also reviewed grammar topics, including but not limited to, subordination, parallel structure, pronoun use, word choice and dangling modifiers. A midterm and final exam were used to measure competence level in mechanics of writing. Students placed in the remedial ability group improved their mechanical skills to the point where their skill level was indistinguishable from students in the regular ability group by the time of the final exam. The gap in test scores between groups had not only closed, but the remedial group had slightly surpassed the regular group. The social context of the remedial group may have consistently stimulated awareness of deficiencies and the need for study and improvement. Results of this study also support the merit of diagnostic entrance exams as a tool to address lack of mastery in mechanical skills.

ABILITY GROUPING OF MEDIA WRITING STUDENTS: CLOSING THE COMPETENCE GAP IN MECHANICAL SKILLS

Journalism teachers and professionals have long agreed that competence in English grammar and Associated Press style is essential for success in journalism. Particularly since the boom in journalism enrollments from the 1970s through the mid-1980s, journalism teachers and professionals worried that students were not well-prepared in basic skills.[1] For example, Williams' 1983 survey of teachers in 125 journalism programs found that students' basic lack of English skills was the teachers' greatest frustration.[2] Auman's 1995 survey of 164 daily and weekly newspaper editors concluded that "working with words," which included competence in grammar, punctuation and spelling, was the most important quality editors sought in hiring new copy editors and was the quality in which new hires were most often deficient. Auman also noted a 1990 American Society of Newspaper Editors' report, which concluded that newspaper editors most frequently looked for "writing skills, spelling and knowledge of the language" when hiring new reporters and copy editors, and noted that new hires received "low marks on these qualities from the editors who hired them."[3]

Background

Journalism programs have coped with students' lack of mastery in various ways. For instance, several programs have required students to pass tests of basic mechanical proficiency as a condition for enrollment in journalism writing courses. In 1978, Adams reported that the William Allen White School of Journalism at the University of Kansas had tabled a proposal to require students to pass an English proficiency test before enrolling in the school and to require those who failed the test to complete a remedial English course before they could retake the proficiency test.[4] Adams noted that controversy arose when some faculty critics worried that the proficiency test would be biased against minority and international students and would not measure real writing ability, while supporters of the test thought it might "relieve the J-school faculty of the need to run remedial English courses within courses designed to teach newswriting and reporting."[5] In the course of hashing out whether to implement the test, the Kansas faculty surveyed journalism programs that enrolled 500 or more majors and found that 26 percent of the schools required transfer students to pass a proficiency test for admission to their journalism programs, that 23 percent of the schools required pre-journalism students to pass an entrance exam, and that 47 percent of the schools used entrance exams only as diagnostic, not admission, tools. Half of the schools surveyed believed entrance exams should be required and should be given during the students' freshman or sophomore years. Adams concluded, "The general attitude was that proficiency tests are most useful as indicators of weaknesses which need to be worked at rather than as a means of exclusion."[6]

At about the same time as Kansas was deciding not to implement its proficiency test, Ryan and Pruitt reported that the West Virginia program was administering a diagnostic English test. Students who failed the test enrolled in a department-supervised writing lab where they worked on mechanical skills necessary to retake and pass the test required for admission to journalism. Ryan and Pruitt also reported that more than 90 percent of the West Virginia students required to enroll in the writing-skills lab agreed it improved their mechanical skills.[7] Hynes, however, reported that California State University-Fullerton students, who were assigned to complete remedial work after failing a proficiency test required for admission to specific writing courses, expressed mixed support for the test and remedial work. But Hynes noted that faculty believed the combination of testing and remedial work allowed them to teach writing courses at a higher level than they had before.[8]

Other journalism programs have coped with students' mechanical deficiencies by standardizing the teaching and content of all sections of basic writing courses. Blanchard, for instance, reported in 1984 that North Carolina had designed a four-part program that used a common syllabus for all sections of introductory news writing, a series of competency exams for all students enrolled in the course, common sessions that presented topics to all students in one group, and a standardized grading scale to be used by all instructors. Blanchard concluded, "We have some evidence, although it is not documented, that students are entering advanced skills classes with stronger background knowledge."[9]

More recently, journalism and communication programs that have examined remedial measures have examined how they test students, rather than why they test students. For instance, in 1982, Decker reported that Temple University was moving from sole reliance on verbal SAT scores to a communication department test that included a tape-recorded speech prepared by students.[10] In 1993, Smith reported that the College of Communication at the University of Texas at Austin was experimenting with shifting the diagnostic grammar, spelling and punctuation test it required for admission to certain journalism and advertising courses from a pencil-and-paper version to a computerized version.[11] And in 1991, John, Ruminski and Hanks reported that 36.4 percent of the 236 journalism programs they surveyed required a formal English writing-skills test at some point during their programs. John, Ruminski and Hanks focused on whether writing tests were more frequently required by accredited or non-accredited journalism programs, whether the tests were written by journalism faculty or purchased from a commercial testing service, and whether the tests were given as a prerequisite for admission to the program or to specific courses, rather than on the pedagogical reasoning behind the tests.[12]

Outside journalism, teachers at the elementary and secondary levels have long experimented with pedagogical techniques such as proficiency testing and remedial measures to improve the teaching of writing, particularly in English classes. Often, these efforts have focused on ability-based grouping, which places students in groups with students of similar ability. According to Oakes and Lipton, several arguments are typically offered to support ability-based grouping. Two of those arguments appear relevant to higher education and, in particular, to journalism education: First, students may perform better when grouped with others of similar ability, and second, teachers may find it more effective to teach groups of students who possess similar abilities.[13]

Although it has been used since the 1920s, ability-based grouping in elementary and secondary education has not been without its critics. Some teachers have worried that when ability groups are used at the elementary and secondary levels, they too often segregate students by race or ethnicity and socioeconomic class, thus publicly "ghettoizing" students of lower-level abilities and impairing self-esteem.[14] On the other hand, ability-based grouping in the form of talented and gifted programs has been lauded by some teachers as a way to encourage and challenge higher-level students, and ability-based grouping has sometimes been found to improve the performance of students at all levels.[15] Slavin and Braddock summarize the arguments for and against ability grouping:

> Proponents of ability grouping have claimed that grouping is necessary to individualize instruction for students and to accommodate their diverse needs. In particular, they have been concerned about the possibility that including low achievers in heterogeneous classes would slow down the progress of high achievers, and have claimed that high achievers benefit from the challenge and example of other high achievers. In contrast,

> opponents of ability grouping have been concerned about the negative effects of the practice on low achievers, in particular denying them access to high-quality instruction. This group opposes the practice on principle as undermining social goals of equity and fairness in our society. There is an interesting lack of parallelism in the arguments. The pro-grouping argument is primarily concerned with *effectiveness*, and the anti-grouping argument is primarily concerned with *equity* and democratic values. Consequently, the burden of proof in terms of effectiveness must be on those who would track.[16]

Despite the ongoing debate about ability-based grouping in elementary and secondary education, little attention has been paid to the concept by higher education, and specifically, by journalism education. In this research, we hoped a field study would help determine whether ability-based grouping might improve students' mechanical skills in grammar and Associated Press style. We shared DiNicola's belief that the discipline of learning and following style conventions is "...a worthy facet of any journalism writing course" and wanted to help students achieve what DiNicola calls "an increase in confidence from their ability to use one of the essential tools of the trade."[17] Yet we were not unlike the teachers of basic news writing courses in Williams' survey who complained of their frustration in working with students who brought minimal mechanical skills to the classroom.[18] We hoped we might lessen some of these frustrations in teaching writing, and, at the same time, improve students' skills. We also hoped that we might replicate the success reported by Thayer, who in 1988, studied New Mexico State University students who scored low on an English proficiency test and were required to enroll in weekly remedial English sessions. These students significantly improved their performance on an end-of-semester proficiency test. Thayer found that students who passed the proficiency test and were not required to attend remedial sessions actually scored lower on the end-of-semester test than the remedial students.[19]

Research Question

What is the relationship between ability grouping of undergraduate mass media writing students and improved competence in mechanical skills, such as grammar and Associated Press style?

Method

This study was conducted during the spring and fall 1996 semesters of Media Writing and Information Gathering, an introductory course required for the journalism major at a mid-sized, urban university in the Midwest. Subjects ($N = 73$) were students in this course; most were sophomores and juniors (90 percent) who were majoring in journalism (58 percent).

Independent Variable

Ability group. Score on the Language Skills Test, an exam given before students were permitted to register for Media Writing, determined placement in ability group. The Language Skills Test covered grammar, including agreement, redundancy, sentence structure and active verb use. The Language Skills Test totaled 75 points; students who scored 60 to 63 points were placed in a remedial section. Students who scored 64 points and above were placed in a regular section. Students who scored 59 points or below were not permitted to enroll in the course, but students who scored 59 or below could re-take the Language Skills test once; if they scored 60 or above the second time they were placed in the remedial section. A t-test indicated significant differences ($p < .001$) between the remedial and regular groups.

Procedure

Two regular classes and one remedial class were offered in both the spring and fall 1996 semesters; each class was taught by one of four full-time journalism faculty members. All faculty -- whether they taught the remedial or regular sections -- were aware that classroom data would be used for research purposes. While this may have created demand characteristics, any effects would be similar across all classes. Students were asked for their permission to participate in a journalism department study of writing classes, but they were not told the purpose of the study.

Subjects were assigned to remedial (N = 23) or regular (N = 50) sections by their Language Skills Test score.

While the Media Writing course emphasized both grammar mechanics and writing assignments, this study focused on grammar mechanics. Instructors for all sections -- whether regular or remedial -- drilled students throughout the 15-week semester on Associated Press style such as capitalization, abbreviations, numerals, punctuation and spelling. Instructors also reviewed grammar topics, including but not limited to, subordination, parallel structure, pronoun use, word choice and dangling modifiers.

Dependent variable

Competence level in mechanics of writing. A midterm and final exam were used to measure competence level in mechanics of writing. All students -- in both the regular and remedial sections -- took the same midterm and final exam. Students took the exam in their class sections. The midterm and final exam followed a similar format: Each totaled 75 points and consisted of multiple-choice items on sentence structure, pronoun case, and pronoun-noun and subject-verb agreement. The exams also evaluated parallel structure and active construction by requiring students to rewrite sentences. Each exam also contained a news story with many Associated Press style errors. Students used copyediting marks to correct these errors.

Results

This research examined the relationship between the ability grouping of media writing students and improved competence in mechanical skills such as grammar and Associated Press style. We found that students placed in the remedial ability group improved their mechanical skills to the point where their skill level was indistinguishable from students in the regular ability group by the time of the final exam (Figure 1).

The students were tested before taking the media writing course and placed into remedial and regular sections. As shown in Table 1, the mean test score of the remedial group on the Language Skills Test was 61.09, as compared to 69.00 for the regular section ($p < .001$). The standard deviations for both groups (1.73 for remedial, 3.435 for regular) indicate that the students' test scores were fairly tightly clustered, in contrast with later test results reported below.

By the time of the midterm examination, which was administered in the seventh or eighth week of class, the difference in mean test score between the two groups remained statistically significant: 60.3 for the remedial group and 63.58 for the regular group ($p < .05$, Table 1). It is important to note that the gap between the groups had closed from a baseline test score difference of 7.91 to a midterm difference of 3.28, indicating that the remedial group was "catching up." The standard deviations had also increased, as the students' scores showed more variance within the groups (Table 1). The increase in standard deviation has a few possible meanings. First, it may be that some students who were placed in the remedial group had a "bad test day" on the Language Skills Test and were outdistancing their cohorts by the time of the midterm. Second, it may be that all students were learning the material at different rates, spreading them out from the mean. Third, there may be differences in the tests themselves, particularly the Language Skills Test versus the midterm and the final. Fourth, it may be a combination of the above.

Seven or eight weeks later, by the time of the final examination, there was no significant difference between the remedial and the regular ability groups ($p = .299$). In fact, the remedial group mean score on the final exam was 68.48, almost one point higher than the mean score of 67.66 in the regular group (Table 1). The gap in test scores had not only closed, but the remedial group had slightly surpassed the regular group. The standard deviation of the remedial ability group was nearly unchanged from the midterm, while the regular group tended to cluster a bit more tightly on the final exam.

Figure 1 shows the closing of the gap between means in graph form. One note: The scores for either group on the Language Skills Test are not comparable to the scores on the midterm and the final. Thus, a score of 69 on the Language Skills Test and a 63 on the midterm does not mean the student regressed. The Language Skills Test is considered an easier exam than the latter two and was used only to place the students in ability groups.

The scores on the midterm and the final may be compared, however, since both were designed by the researchers to test for improvement over time. A 60 on the midterm and a 68 on the final, the remedial group's mean scores, is considered an improvement of important magnitude.

Discussion

The data in this study point to a positive relationship between ability grouping of media writing students and improved competence in mechanical skills. Ability grouping may have enabled teachers to provide instruction more tailored to students' needs, as suggested by previous research.[20] In this study, however, all instructors emphasized style and grammar, but the remedial group experienced a large enough test score gain to close the competence gap, indicating that other processes may also explain the improvement. Presence in the remedial section itself may have increased the salience of grammar and style for the remedial students. This social context may have consistently stimulated awareness of deficiencies and the need for study and improvement -- and in the end, students did improve. By contrast, students in the regular section may have felt more confident of their mechanical skills and their ability to score well on the tests. They may not have perceived an urgency to improve, compared to the remedial students. This perception may explain the regular group's lower score on the final exam, as compared to the remedial group's score.

While all instructors drilled students on grammar and style, the remedial instructor may have further emphasized the need for improvement -- both implicitly and explicitly. The remedial instructor especially may have wanted to see substantial progress, and students may have been aware of this desire. Rather than view this as a confounding factor, this interest may be seen as a stimulus for study and learning. The combination of heightened student and instructor interest may help to explain the remedial group test score gain.

The results of this study also support the merit of diagnostic entrance exams as a tool to address lack of mastery in mechanical skills. Like the University of Kansas study,[21] our research suggests that baseline tests highlight weaknesses requiring attention. But like the possible social context effect of placement in an ability group, a low test score may actually increase motivation to study. It can serve as the yardstick from which improvement is measured -- both for students and instructors.

Future Research

During the course of this study, we realized the need for more investigation of pedagogical techniques that could enhance writing skills, particularly for journalism students. Our results provide preliminary support for ability grouping, but equally as important, they raise several issues for future research.

Student attitudes about ability grouping could be measured to address the question of effectiveness versus equity, as suggested by Slavin and Braddock.[22] While our data support the effectiveness of ability grouping, a future study could examine how ability groups influence students' self-identity and self-esteem. Do increased test scores improve self-esteem, but at the same time, lead students to feel banished to a remedial ghetto? To further explore why ability groups are effective, we could measure the degree of importance and salience that mechanics have for both students and instructors in remedial and regular sections. This may help explain motivational effects of remedial groups on learning.

An ability grouping program could be tracked over time and compared with our results. In this study, one instructor taught all remedial sections for consistency purposes. Future research could examine whether remedial sections with other instructors would exhibit similar results.

A control group containing both remedial and regular students could be added to a study similar to this research. A control group would enable researchers to examine whether the baseline exam alone could stimulate low-scoring students to improve, or whether the remedial group context had a particular effect. A control group would also provide data on the effects of mainstreaming remedial journalism students. Would they improve because of the challenge posed by students of greater ability?

In future studies we may want to re-evaluate the Language Skills Test used in this project for its comparability with the midterm and final exams. We may also want to increase the difficulty of the final exam to provide more of a challenge for students in the regular sections.

Finally, future studies of media writing pedagogical techniques could include writing samples -- in addition to tests of mechanical skills -- to measure student learning. Suhor notes that educators should combine objective skills tests and writing samples to best evaluate students.[23] A content analysis of journalism student writing could examine whether students incorporated any increased competence in mechanical skills into their articles for class.

Endnotes

[1] Gerald Stone, "Measurement of excellence in newspaper writing courses," *Journalism Educator* 44 (Winter 1990): 4-19.

[2] Herbert Lee Williams, "Which are the toughest J-courses to teach ... and why?" *Journalism Educator* 37 (Winter 1983): 12-14.

[3] Ann Auman, "A lesson for instructors: Top 10 copy-editing skills," *Journalism Educator* 50 (Autumn 1995): 12-22.

[4] Samuel L. Adams, "English proficiency among J-students," *Journalism Educator* 33 (April 1978): 25-32, 53.

[5] Adams, 27.

[6] Adams, 30.

[7] Michael Ryan and Patricia Truitt, "At West Virginia, the 'DET' points out deficiencies," *Journalism Educator* 33 (April 1978): 32-34.

[8] Terry Hynes, "At California State (Fullerton), 'EUT' proves its value," *Journalism Educator* 33 (April 1978): 34-36.

[9] Margaret A. Blanchard, "North Carolina standardizes new writing course sections," *Journalism Educator* 39 (Summer 1984): 18-22, 44.

[10] Warren D. Decker, "An investigation of the procedures used to assign students to remedial oral communication instruction," *Communication Education* 31 (April 1982): 131-140.

[11] Nancy J. Smith, "Results of the administration of the computerized grammar, spelling, and punctuation test to College of Communication students on July 7, 1992," University of Texas-Austin, Measurement and Evaluation Center, August 1993, ERIC Document 375-150.

[12] Jeffrey Alan John, Henry Ruminski and William Hanks, "Trends in writing skills tests for admission to programs," *Journalism Educator* 46 (Autumn 1991): 44-49.

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[13] Jeannie Oakes and Martin Lipton, "Tracking and ability grouping: A structural barrier to access and achievement," 187-204 in John Goodlad and Patricia Keating, eds., *Access to Knowledge: The Continuing Agenda for Our Nation's Schools* (New York: The College Entrance Examination Board, 1994).

[14] See, for example, Jeannie Oakes, *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1985), which argues that "tracking," or grouping students by ability, is well-intended on the part of educators but has serious negative social consequences for junior- and senior-high school students.

[15] John Newfield and Virginia B. McElyea, "Achievement and attitudinal differences among students in regular, remedial and advanced classes," *Journal of Experimental Education* 52 (1983): 47-56, conclude that data from more than 1,000 U.S. high schools where sophomore and senior students were placed into ability groups for English and mathematics instruction show "improved achievement and attitude toward subject matter for students in regular and remedial classes." Newfield and McElyea also report that "the data were not consistent with a view that remedial group placement leads to poor self-concept or attitude toward school."

[16] Robert H. Slavin and Jomills H. Braddock III, "Ability grouping: On the wrong track," 289-296 in John Goodlad and Patricia Keating, eds., *Access to Knowledge: The Continuing Agenda for Our Nation's Schools* (New York: The College Entrance Examination Board, 1994).

[17] Robert DiNicola, "Teaching journalistic style with the AP Stylebook," *Journalism Educator* 49 (Summer 1994): 64-70.

[18] Williams, op. cit.

[19] Frank Thayer, "Remedial course for writing skills proven effective," *Journalism Educator* 43 (Summer 1988): 71-72.

[20] Slavin and Braddock, op. cit.

[21] Adams, 30.

[22] Slavin and Braddock, op. cit.

[23] Charles Suhor, "Objective Tests and Writing Samples: How Do They Affect Instruction in Composition?" *Phi Delta Kappan*, 66 (1985): 635-639.

Figure 1
Mechanical-Skills Competence by Ability Group

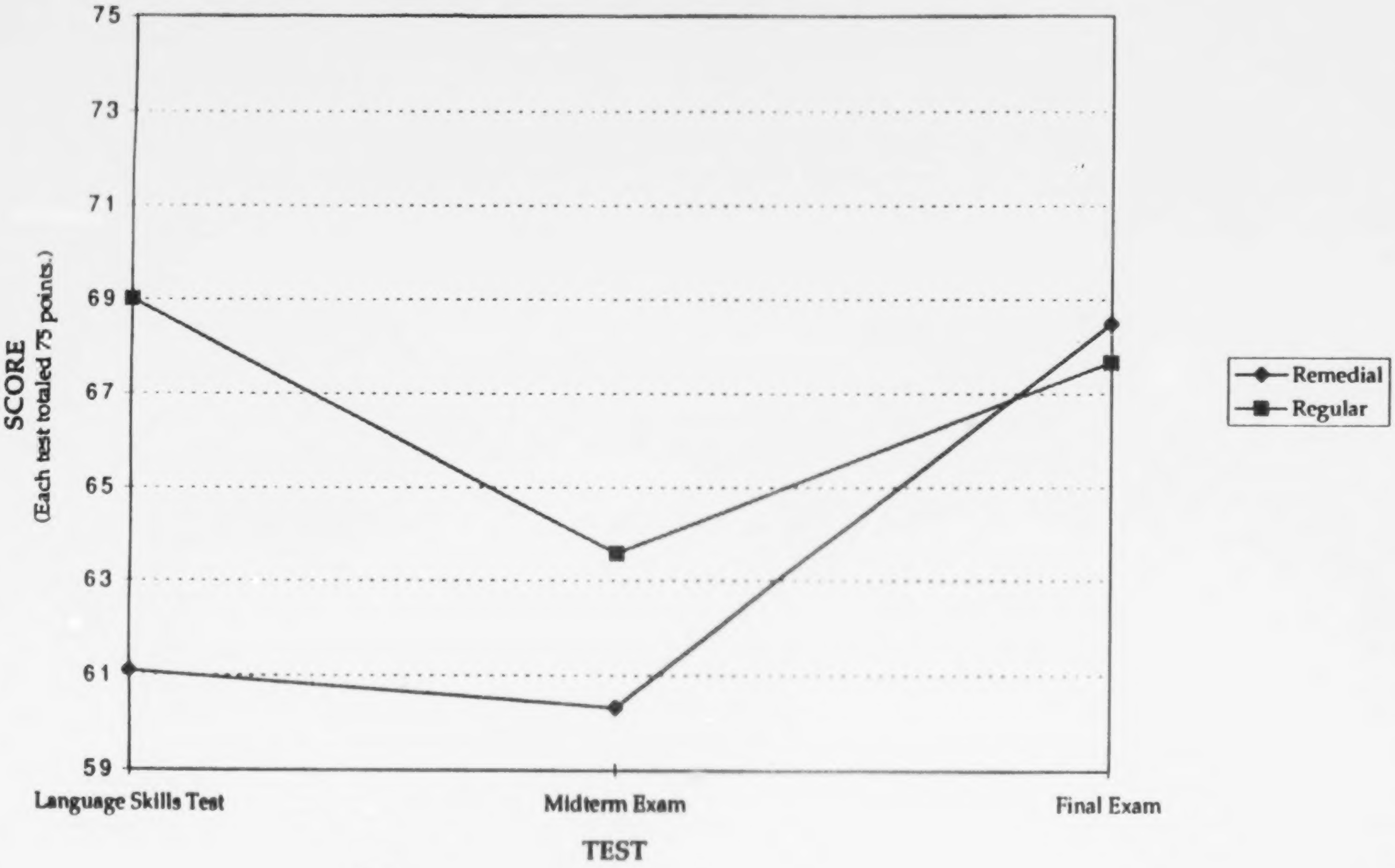

Table 1

A Comparison of Mechanical-Skills Competence in Remedial and Regular Ability Groups

	N	Mean*	S.D.	*t*	Prob.
Language Skills Test (Placement Exam)					
Remedial Sections	23	61.09	1.730	-13.08	0.000
Regular Sections	50	69.00	3.435		
Midterm Exam					
Remedial Sections	23	60.30	6.056	-2.03	0.023
Regular Sections	50	63.58	7.074		
Final Exam					
Remedial Sections	23	68.48	6.374	0.54	0.299
Regular Sections	50	67.66	5.133		

* Each exam totaled 75 points.

A Model for Effective Learning and Rewarding Teaching in the Journalism, Advertising, and Public Relations Research Classrooms

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Introduction

In journalism, advertising, public relations, and communications programs that require a research course in the curriculum, students learn the role and process of research in these fields. They learn how to design and conduct scientific research studies as well as how to analyze and interpret the results. Journalism students may learn how to apply research to conducting a poll that may be reported in the newspaper or on a television or radio news broadcast. Advertising students may learn how to apply the research to understanding consumers in order to create effective advertising campaigns. Public relations students may learn how to apply the research to better understanding the publics' perceptions of the client.

The teacher of research uses a variety of classroom strategies to help students become more knowledgeable about the scientific research process, computer tabulation, and analysis. The research instructor may use lecturers and readings from research textbooks. The instructor may also incorporate in-class assignments to illustrate random sampling, good focus group moderating techniques, or tools for content analysis coding of magazine advertising. Often the research teacher will have students conduct interviews for a class-wide survey project.

While all of these strategies facilitate learning about the research process, it is no secret that teaching research is fraught with learning barriers that the teacher must overcome. Generally, research is a required course that many journalism, advertising, and public relations students think is irrelevant to the curriculum and to their career aspirations. What does research have to do with the business of journalism, advertising, or public relations, some students will wonder. Consequently, the teacher of research is faced with finding a way to make research relevant in order to facilitate learning about how to conduct and analyze scientifically valid research.

In recognition of the obstacles that the research teacher faces, this paper proposes a teaching model for making research relevant. This teaching model, which has produced effective learning, successful goal achievement, non-quantifiable benefits, and rewarding teaching, can be described as:

A Knowledge Base + A Team Process +
A Realistic Goal-Oriented Experience +
Self-Management + Expert Consultation +
Evaluation and Synthesis =
Effective Learning, Successful Goal Achievement,
Non-quantifiable Benefits, and Rewarding Teaching

This paper will present a case study of this teaching model using advertising and public relations research classes from the University of Texas at Austin. The case study will include an examination of the components of the model as applied to the Fall 1996 semester and the evaluations of more than 100 students at the conclusion of the semester.

Background on Components of the Model

A Knowledge Base Component. When I took my first research class in 1975 as a graduate student, the class primarily consisted of lectures and research textbook readings to build what I have identified as the first component, a knowledge base. Consequently, when I taught my first research class in 1980, I used the same teaching model of primarily building the knowledge base through lectures and research textbook readings. After a full year of teaching, I went to the Los Angeles Times where I began working in marketing research and then moved up to middle management and later, an executive position. Throughout my ten-year employment at The Times, I conducted research or used research to plan, launch, or even discontinue various programs and projects.

When I returned to full-time teaching in 1991, I used my old teaching model of lecture and textbook readings to build a knowledge base. The knowledge base component consisted of the language of research and the process of conducting various research methods such as surveys, content analysis studies, experiments, and focus groups. The knowledge base component also included a foundation in analyzing and reporting research data as well as ethical issues that must be addressed when conducting research. In an article on teaching research methods, Denham (1997) lists several suggestions for teaching a research class. Many of the suggestions from Denham's classroom and the literature he reviewed in the article would fit into the knowledge base component.

While building a knowledge foundation is fundamental in teaching research, this reliance on the knowledge base component alone is insufficient to capture the interest of today's students. And to be honest, I wasn't that excited about relying on the knowledge base component as the primary method of teaching either. Even though the knowledge base component is the foundation of the model, I quickly learned that it alone would not generate the effective learning, goal achievement, non-quantifiable benefits, and rewarding teaching that are proposed in the model. I began to add elements to the teaching model to enhance the learning and teaching in the research classroom.

A Team Process Component. "In every classroom, no matter what the subject area or age of students, teachers may structure the class where students learn individually, competitively, or cooperatively" (Johnson & Johnson, 1987, p. 1). The team process component that I added to the teaching model is an example of learning cooperatively. Cooperative learning has been defined as a classroom instructional method in which students are organized in small groups and work together to accomplish a common goal (Kluge, 1990; Slavin, 1987, p. 8). This method of group instruction has also been described in the education literature as learning groups (Bouton & Garth, 1983, pp. 3-4) and collaborative learning (Hamm and Adams, 1992). Collaborative learning has been used to teach journalism writing and the history of mass communication (Haber, 1994).

A Realistic Goal-Oriented Experience Component. Students can learn through lectures, readings, case studies of actual examples, simulation models, or realistic experiences. These various teaching methods contribute to varying degrees of learning. I added a realistic goal-oriented experience to the teaching model to achieve higher learning. By definition, this experience must mimic the real-world experience of research through the entire research process from identifying an issue, problem, or theory that needs to be researched through the execution of the research, and the analysis and reporting of the research results.

Self-Management Component. The team process can be managed by the teacher, the individual team, or through a combination of the two. I added a team self-management component to the teaching model to build student self-confidence in carrying out the research process. Self-management included letting students make major decisions about their research team and project and taking responsibility for those decisions and their consequences.

Expert Consultation Component. Johnson and Johnson (1987, p. 158) said that the teacher needs to "monitor how well the groups are working and, when necessary intervene to increase the effectiveness of the learning groups." Instead of intervention when needed, this teaching model calls for expert consultation at defined points during the research process. By providing consultation at specific important times, the teacher can keep the research project on track throughout the process so that there will be a successful end instead of a derailment. The consultation is not to tell the teams what to do but to provide them with guidance and advice so that team members can make decisions on the best way to go forward in completing the project.

Evaluation and Synthesis Component. "Assessment and evaluation are areas of concern for all teachers," according to Beard (1995, p. 36). This teaching model provides an opportunity for team members to evaluate their peers, the research experience, and the team process as a whole. This evaluation and synthesis component is important in the model because a team or learning group is a heterogeneous social organization, which may contain both high achievers and low achievers, interested and disinterested students. The confidential peer evaluation is factored into the final project grade. The synthesis component allows students to reflect on the total experience. It is an opportunity for students to identify what they did in fact learn, how they learned it, and how what they learned, is beneficial.

Outcomes of the Teaching Model. The teaching model has been designed to produce four outcomes: effective learning, successful goal achievement, non-quantifiable benefits, and rewarding teaching. These outcomes of the model are the reasons that we teach, whether the course is research, writing, advertising or public relations campaigns, theory, law, ethics, media and society, media history, or management. The traditional method of lecture and readings is inadequate and will not produce these outcomes. The case study that will be presented explains how the combination of these teaching model components will produce these outcomes in the advertising and public relations research classrooms.

Methodology

The case study method was used to examine the applicability of the teaching model and its components in advertising and public relations research classrooms. The case study, which represents narrative descriptions of particular cases, uses observation, interview, and archival methods to describe the end product of field study. The case study includes a variety of data about a single subject and it can include qualitative and quantitative techniques (Drew & Hardman, 1985, p. 430).

Measuring the Model Components. During the 1996 fall semester at the University of Texas at Austin, I taught two required undergraduate research courses in which I tested the teaching model. One class primarily consisted of advertising majors and the other public relations majors. The same teaching method was used in both classes. Students received a syllabus which outlined the semester's work. Students would learn about scientifically valid research with emphasis placed on surveys, intercepts, focus groups, content analysis, and experiments.

The primary teaching method during the first half of the semester consisted of lectures and discussions, readings, (chapters from *Making Research Relevant* by Paula M. Poindexter and Maxwell E. McCombs to be published by St. Martin's Press), occasional in-class activities, four written assignments, which included a survey questionnaire, a short data analysis paper, an analysis of a journal article, and a research proposal using a research method of the student's choice.

For the research proposal, students could select the topic to be researched. The only requirement was that advertising students had to select an advertising communications topic and public relations students had to select a topic within the framework of public relations or communications. The written research proposal would be used on the day that students were organized into research teams.

The first half of the semester concluded with a comprehensive exam of the material covered. The activities during the first half of the semester represented the *knowledge base component*, the foundation of the model.

During the class immediately following the comprehensive exam, a packet of materials was distributed to students which would provide guidelines, expectations, and a timetable for the research study that their research team would conduct. Students were told that they would select their team members, select the research topic and methodology from one of the research proposals of their team members, as well as decide how they wanted to organize their team. They also would set a timetable on the calendar that was provided in the packet. These were aspects of the *self-management* component of the teaching model.

Students were also informed that they would be expected to consult with the instructor at four critical points: once they had finalized the research design for their study, once they had drafted the measurement instrument, once they had collected the data, and once they had written the first draft of the written report. These meetings would represent the *expert consultation* component.

It was emphasized to the classes that class time would be used for team meetings as well as consultations. All teams were expected to check in at the beginning of class for announcements and questions that would benefit everyone. After the announcements, students would begin working in their teams or meet with the expert consultant.

Finally, the peer evaluation form and final writing assignment were pointed out in the packet. Teams were informed that they had an opportunity to assess their team mates in a confidential evaluation that would factor into individual final grades on the research project. On this peer evaluation form, individual team members would have an opportunity to evaluate their team's overall effectiveness. Students were also informed that their last writing assignment would be a business memo in which they would discuss and evaluate their research and team experiences. These activities represented the *evaluation and synthesis* component of the teaching model.

As students worked in their teams, the *team process* component became apparent, and as students executed their research studies, they encountered the *realistic goal-oriented experience* component of the model.

Evaluating the Outcomes of the Model. The outcomes of the teaching model include *effective learning, successful goal achievement, non-quantifiable benefits, and rewarding teaching*. To evaluate effective learning, students completed an extra credit, self-administered questionnaire that included questions to assess their perceptions of what and how they learned about the research method and process during the execution of their team research study. This extra credit evaluation was not a replacement for the University's official end-of-the-semester evaluation.

It was decided to give an extra credit of three points for completion of the questionnaire so that students would complete it and turn it in after the semester had ended. It was hoped that after students had completed all individual and group assignments for the class that students would be able to step back and evaluate the total experience. Without the extra credit, it was doubtful that students would have taken the time to complete and return the questionnaire after the semester's conclusion.

Closed-ended questions on the questionnaire were used in order to compare students' evaluations and rankings. Examples of questions included:

A. How would you rate your level of confidence in conducting a valid survey?
   1. Very confident
   2. Confident
   3. Somewhat confident
   4. Not confident

B. If you had to conduct your research study again but by yourself, how confident would you be in conducting the study?
   1. Very confident
   2. Confident
   3. Somewhat confident
   4. Not confident

C. Please rank the following items on their contribution to your knowledge of conducting the research method you used in your team research project. A ranking of "1" means the item contributed the most to your knowledge. A "2" ranking means the item had the second highest contribution to your knowledge of conducting the research method.

1. Readings ______
2. Class Lectures ______
3. Experience in conducting your research study ______
4. Experience in working in a research group ______
5. Consultations ______
6. Other (Please specify.) ____________________ ______

The second part of the outcomes, *successful goal achievement*, was measured by the completion of the research study and its component parts including written and oral reports. *Non-quantifiable benefits* were determined from two separate measurements. First, students completed a self-administered, confidential evaluation of the members of the team and the overall effectiveness of the team. Students evaluated their team members in three areas: (1) contribution to the research study; (2) preparation for research team meetings; and (3) attendance. An open-ended question was used for students to comment on their team's effectiveness. This evaluation was a part of the packet which students received on the day that teams were organized.

The second measurement of the non-quantifiable benefits was a business memo from the students to the instructor on the research and team experiences. This memo, which was the final individual required written assignment, provided students an opportunity to discuss the research project, the research experience, and the team experience in their own words. By requiring this as the last individual assignment, it was felt that students would have an opportunity to reflect on their experience, synthesize the diverse components of the research and team experiences, and articulate their evaluation in a professional manner.

Since this test of the teaching model is a case study, the *rewarding teaching* component reflects a self-assessment of the instructor's experience in the research classrooms. By definition, much of the assessment of what constitutes *rewarding* to a teacher, will be subjective. But if the overall goals of the class are accomplished, then the accomplishment of the goals should translate to a rewarding teaching experience.

The teaching goals for the research class included: (1) ensuring that students have a knowledge base of scientifically valid research methods and analysis; (2) providing a realistic research experience in which students would have an opportunity to internalize the multi-faceted process of research; (3) using the research experience and consultations to help students become comfortable with research, its language and process; (4) enabling students to articulate their research study purpose, methodology, research results, limitations, and implications in written and oral reports; (5) enabling students to display confidence in conducting, analyzing, and discussing research; (6) having students appreciate research and realize that research is relevant to their educational experience and career aspirations.

Data Analysis. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used to analyze the data from the various measurement instruments. For the data from the self-administered questionnaires, frequencies and crosstabs were used for analysis. For the evaluations and memos in which students assessed their experiences in their own words, qualitative analyses were used. Essentially, themes and patterns were identified in order to provide a sense of the students' evaluations of their varied research experiences.

Results

Forty-eight public relations students and fifty-nine advertising students completed the self-administered, extra credit questionnaires to assess their research experiences. Of the 107 students who completed the questionnaires, 60% conducted a focus group for their research project, 16% conducted an intercept survey, 15% conducted a content analysis study, and 9% completed a random sample survey. Some of the research subjects were: effectiveness of smoking PSA's on teenagers; attitudes toward Calvin Klein advertising; product placement in motion pictures; using games to market on the world wide web; the use of the term "Generation X" in major newspapers; attitudes of college students toward the Texas Lottery.

The results in Tables 1 though 3 were used as measures of the effective learning component. Even though all of the students conducted their research studies in teams of five to seven members, they were asked about their level of confidence if they had to conduct the study alone. Table 1 shows the responses of the students when asked, "If you had to conduct a study by yourself, how confident would you be?" Sixty-two percent said they would be very confident and 36% said they would be confident in conducting the research study alone.

Table 1

Confidence Level of Students in Conducting Research Study Alone

Level of Confidence	%
Very Confident	62
Confident	36
Somewhat Confident	3
Not Confident	0
(Base=107)	101%

Table 2 examines the relationship between the type of study students conducted in their research teams and the level of confidence they would have in conducting the study alone. Students who conducted a focus group or a content analysis were significantly more likely to say they were very confident in conducting that type of study alone. Eighty percent of the students who conducted a focus group said they were very confident in conducting a focus group alone. Students who did not conduct a focus group for their team research project were less confident in conducting that type of research alone. Only 10% of students who conducted a survey, 19% of those who conducted a content analysis, and 29% of those who conducted an intercept said they would be very confident in conducting a focus group alone.

A similar pattern is evident for those students who conducted a content analysis. All of those students said they were very confident in conducting a content analysis study alone while few or no students who conducted the other methodologies expressed this high level of confidence about conducting a content analysis study alone.

Table 2

The Relationship Between Type of Study Conducted and Level of Confidence in Conducting Study Alone

Confidence in Method	**Type of Research Study Conducted**			
	Survey	Focus Group	Content Analysis	Intercept
Very Confident in Conducting Focus Group *	10%	**80%**	19%	29%
Very Confident in Conducing Content Analysis**	0%	6%	**100%**	6%

*Chi Square = 60.62, d.f.=9, p<.001
**Chi Square=78.95, d.f.=9, p<.001
(Base = 107)

Students were also asked to rank the items that contributed most to their knowledge of the research method used in their team research study. According to Table 3, the top three teaching methods that ranked number one in contributing to knowledge of the research method used were: readings, 29%; the research experience, 27%; and experience in working in a group, 20%.

Table 3

Ranking of Teaching Methods that Contributed to Knowledge of Research Method Used

Teaching Methods	**#1 Rank**	**#2 Rank**	**#3 Rank**
Readings	**29% (1)***	**17% (3)**	**20% (2)**
Research Experience	**27% (2)**	**31% (1)**	14% (4)
Experience in Working in Group	**20% (3)**	**21% (2)**	**20% (2)**
Class Lectures	16% (4)	15% (5)	**19% (3)**
Consultations	6% (5)	16% (4)	**28% (1)**
Other	3% (6)	1% (6)	0%

(*Rank order)

Non-Quantifiable Benefits Component. In addition to the successful completion of the research study (successful goal achievement component) by every research team, there were non-quantifiable benefits. These benefits were identified from the peer and team evaluation forms. Students were asked to comment on their teams' overall effectiveness. Most of the comments can be organized around the following themes: (1) Methods of working together; (2) Identifying problems and problem solving; (3) Social benefits of working as a team; (4) Pride and confidence in work.

(1) *Methods of working together*. One student said, "I thought that this team worked great together. We had a good mix of creative and analytical minds. Another said, "Our team was very organized and worked well together. This has been the best group project I've ever worked on because everyone pulled their weight.

(2) *Identifying problems and problem solving.* Problems that were identified included methodological issues such as poor recruitment of focus group participants to problem members on the team. In some cases, problem members were described as late or absent from team meetings. In other cases, problem members were described as being unprepared for meetings, producing poor quality work, or not following through on team assignments. Even so, students identified the problems and tried to solve them in a variety of ways. One student said that she and another student "took over the project after group members consistently did not follow through with their responsibilities." She said that next time she would know to use better communication skills. Another student said, "Overall our team was effective. When one member slipped behind, the others made up for the missing work. We got the job done."

(3) *Social benefits of working as a team.* Social benefits included developing friendships and having fun. One student said, "I especially liked getting to know everyone in my group and learning to work together since I did not previously know anyone in my group." Another student said, "Working with Lauren, Gina, and Robyn was a great experience which allowed me to develop a new friendship as well as expand the old. Thank you."

(4) *Pride and confidence in work.* These benefits were mentioned by many students on the evaluation form. One student said, "Our overall effectiveness was quite impressive. This was a group effort and it took all of us to get it done. I think we have a superb product." Another student responded, "This was by far the best school group project I have ever done. It was definitely the group members that made the experience so pleasant. We worked together very effectively and everyone's overall contribution was excellent." Another said, "I think the team did an A+ job. We obtained lots of incentives (for the focus group). Our focus group was a big success. We recorded and filmed it. We divided the workload evenly and we finished ahead of schedule."

Rewarding Teaching Component. Many aspects of the semester-long research learning experience were addressed in the final written assignment of the business memo. The observations of the students, which translate into the rewarding teaching component, can be organized around the themes of knowledge and comfort gained through the team research experience and appreciation for the relevance of research.

Knowledge and Comfort Gained Through the Research Experience. One student wrote in her memo, "The lack of knowledge I had prior to doing this project was cured by the experience I received from our group research team. I now know that there is a lot more to research on consumer groups than I had originally imagined."

Another student said, "Doing the content analysis was more difficult than I had anticipated. I knew the process through the reading I had done, but putting it into practice was a lot different. I never thought inter-coder reliability would be so difficult to achieve." This student added, "Overall, I consider this project to have been very educational, and I mean that. I am very glad that I learned how to use SPSS. After learning about it for the assignment, I even used it in a survey for work."

A public relations major said, "I thought that the assignment of conducting a research study was an excellent learning experience." She added, "I feel like I could walk into an interview and have the confidence to say that I could successfully conduct a research study. I think that having an actual hands-on experience is so much more helpful than reading about it in a book. While the text was helpful, it was not until we were actually conducting the focus group that I could relate and fully understand what it was referring to."

An advertising major said, "Research was not something I included in my thoughts of the advertising field. I was unclear as to what research was and where it came from. Through my own experiences in the class, with the group, and through the presentations I am no longer ignorant about the field. I learned the process of conducting a valid intercept study through my experiences with the group. I never realized how meticulous the process was until I was actually involved in it. I am glad to have learned the information the way I did. I feel it is a more effective teaching method than being taught by exams and papers. I feel confident that I could now effectively handle a research study that involved an intercept if I had to."

Appreciation for the Relevance of Research. Another theme in the rewarding teaching component was an appreciation for research. An advertising student said in her business memo, "In the past, I have been less enthusiastic about the research aspect of advertising. However, after conducting this research project with my team members, my attitude has certainly changed. I found this assignment to be one of the most valuable in the sense that I really got to use in real life what I had been taught in the classroom. Again, this project has changed my previously negative opinion in respects to advertising research."

Another advertising student said, "I have had research projects before, but until this one, I just imagined that what I was studying was fictional, unreal, and of no huge significance. However, this research study made me realize that statistics and analysis mirror the lives of real human beings. It took sitting in front of a focus group, listening in on real citizens' lives, to make me see that. For this, I am thankful. What use is it to research if one only sees his subjects as graphs in a research report?"

This student concluded his memo by adding: "Though many times I wanted to throw my arms up at all that had to be done, I must say our final report and team presentation were well worth it. Our efforts have been justified. Even if I decide to enter an advertising ring outside of research, I have certainly learned the tools of and gained a respect for the professional research team and its studies."

In summary, the quantitative and qualitative results provide support for the outcomes of the teaching model: effective learning, successful goal achievement, non-quantifiable benefits, and rewarding teaching.

Implications, Recommendations, and Conclusions

Developing this approach to teaching required research courses has been an evolutionary process. Upon returning to the classroom in 1991 after ten years in newspaper management, I realized that the lecture and textbook readings, with perhaps a class-wide research project, approach to teaching research was insufficient for today's students. There had to be a way to engage students who were in the classroom simply because a research course was required. How could forty-five hours of classroom instruction be used to engage students in the research process and, perhaps, even have them like research and discover that research is indeed relevant to their educational curriculum and to their career aspirations?

After thinking about my research experience in industry, I decided that the best way to make research relevant was to make it real. Students had to have a real research experience, from beginning to end, to make the process succeed. Students had to experience the struggle over revising a question on a survey questionnaire or moderator's discussion guide to elicit a valid and useful response. Students had to experience first hand the collection, processing, and analysis of data.

Students had to experience first hand preparing for the oral presentation on the research results to a boss or client. They had to know what it was like to write the comprehensive research report and executive summary that would be true to the findings but also engage a variety of potential readers.

Providing this realistic research experience could only happen after building the foundation of research knowledge through class lectures and readings. Without this knowledge base, the learning from the research experience would have been less effective.

As I thought about how to best provide a realistic research experience, I knew that approach would necessitate a group or cooperative learning strategy. While literature extols the benefits of group or cooperative learning, practically speaking, research in the real world is group or team work. Usually a few to many people are involved in the research process, whether that means conducting telephone interviews or recruiting for a focus group or drafting a discussion guide for a focus group.

Two additions were made to the team work approach to enhance the research experience. First, I decided *not* to impose a topic, a methodology, an organizational structure, or even who the members of the team would be. I decided to let the students make those decisions themselves. I wanted the students to develop skills in managing their groups and making decisions, as well as, learn from the consequences of their management and decision making. I knew that if I decided everything for the students, they would not have the opportunity to practice those types of skills. In fact, I have yet to have students say in their final memo that they would have preferred that I had picked their topic and methodology. Usually, they thank me for letting them make that decision for themselves. Occasionally, students will suggest that I should have picked the groups but this is usually because they ended up with a problem member on their team.

The second addition I made to the research experience process was regular consultations with the teams. The teams can consult with me at any point of the process but they are *required* to consult with me during at least four important stages of the research process so that I can make sure that they are on track. The first required consultation is at the beginning when students have decided their research design and timetable. Once they have developed their measurement instrument, they are to review it with me so I can give them feedback. After the teams have collected their data and are ready to process it, they must consult with me so that I can make sure they're still on track with their study.

If a team has conducted a survey, intercept survey, or content analysis, I will meet with them again so they can properly prepare the data for SPSS. I will also meet with them in the computer lab to run their data using SPSS. At the end of that consultation, students will have a frequency printout. They will usually run a crosstabulation on their own but I ask them to meet with me to ensure that they are reading the crosstab tables correctly. Usually, the final required meeting is after the students have drafted the written research report so that I can give them feedback on it before it is finalized.

One thing I have discovered during the consultations is that students become comfortable discussing research. The research language becomes a part of their vocabulary and not just an answer to supply on an exam. These consultations are very interesting for me and I hope for the students. By the third consultation, students have become quite sophisticated in the discussions about their research studies.

It must be emphasized that the consultations are an essential ingredient in the success of the model. The consultations are an opportunity to ensure that students have a successful research project by reviewing and discussing the project at the critical consultation stages. Through the consultations, I am able to identify potential problems and help students correct them before they become permanent flaws in the research design and execution.

The other benefit of the team consultation is that if a potential problem is discovered with one research team, I can give instructions to the whole class on the following class day. For example, during one consultation, I learned that one research team was planning to use two moderators during a focus group. At the beginning of the next class period, I reminded the whole class of the importance and necessity of using only one focus group moderator.

The actual research process ends when students complete their oral and written reports. However, I require one final assignment, the business memo that describes the experience that they had. I have come to believe that this is a very important part of the learning because students must step back and reflect on the total research process and experience. The self-reflection and evaluation help students organize and internalize what they have learned. At this stage, students often realize the relevance of the research that they have experienced.

For me, the final memos are the most rewarding part of the class because I can see first hand that students not only "got it" but they understood how and why they "got it." This reflection helps them synthesize all of the parts of the research experience and they realize that they experienced and completed something that was important and relevant. The research experience with all of its component parts becomes a source of pride.

Even though this teaching model has been effective in my research classrooms, there are some areas that should be tested to verify the model's effectiveness in different classroom situations. Research teachers who use this teaching model in their classrooms may want to test for differences in the outcomes between self-management of the research team and instructor management. Another test might be multiple research team projects compared to a single class-wide research project that students are involved in from beginning to end. While this case study combined the evaluations of public relations and advertising students, future tests of this model may want to compare the impact of the teaching model on the different majors.

The model should also be tested to determine the optimum class size. Because of the consultations, it is felt that the optimum class size is about 50, which allows for ten research teams of five. During the semester in which this model was tested, there were 62 advertising students and 51 public relations students. With the help of an experienced teaching assistant, a class size of 60 can be effective but a class of 50 is still ideal. Without an experienced teaching assistant, a smaller class size is best.

Finally, it would be useful to examine the long-range implications of using this model for teaching research. Five years after graduation, how are these communication professionals thinking about and using research in their careers or personal lives?

Regardless of how the model is tested in research classrooms, it is important to have multiple measures to evaluate the effectiveness of the model. This case study used several measures to evaluate the effectiveness of the model which strengthened the conclusions. While some might worry that the extra credit evaluation caused students to provide only positive evaluations, the consistency in the comments in the memo and peer and team evaluations suggests students were honest in the extra credit evaluation. Students were not given extra credit for saying positive things; they were given extra credit for turning in the evaluations after classes had ended.

The official University evaluations, which are confidential, may be one of the more objective indicators of the benefits of the model. On the University's official course evaluation scale, a five represents excellent, a four, very good, a three, satisfactory, a two unsatisfactory, and a one very unsatisfactory. The overall course rating for the public relations students was 4.0 and 3.7 for advertising students. Advertising students rated the course a 4.4 when asked if the course was made educationally valuable. This question was not included on the public relations students' official course evaluation form.

In conclusion, this paper examined a model for teaching research in the advertising and public relations classrooms. Quantitative and qualitative data showed that this model contributed to effective learning, successful goal achievement, non-quantifiable benefits, and rewarding teaching.

As someone who has taught advertising, public relations, and journalism research at the undergraduate and graduate levels as well as conducted research and used research results in industry, I personally feel this model for teaching research has had a positive impact on my students and a positive impact on me. On the first day of class, at the beginning of every semester when I'm looking out at my students who are in the classroom because they *have* to be there, I can feel confident that by the semester's end, my students will have had an educational-changing experience. As one of my advertising students wrote in his memo, "When this class first started, I thought, 'Who could possibly want to do this for a living?' As I learned more about research though, I started to enjoy the it--to a degree--and at the very least I now find it interesting."

Using this teaching model helps students learn that research is interesting, important, relevant, and sometimes even creative and fun. And most importantly, for the teacher of research, this model is an exciting way to bring research to a classroom filled with advertising students or public relations students or journalism students or general communications students. With the guidance of the teacher, students discover for themselves some of the things that those of us who love teaching research have known for a very long time.

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Creating Metaphors
for Mass Communication Theory

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ABSTRACT

Creating Metaphors for Mass Communication Theory

Faculty often bemoan the lack of critical thinking skills among undergraduate students in communication programs, yet tied to critical thinking is creative thinking -- both of which can be encouraged through the development of metaphors. Metaphors, representing student perceptions of the media in their lives, offer students a way to both analyze the media and apply theory. An analysis of the metaphors created by students in the mass communication theory class revealed categories such as Basic Needs, Basic Wants, Library and Powerful Force. Most students tied their metaphors in with uses and gratifications.

Creating Metaphors for Mass Communication Theory

Professors tackling undergraduate theory courses recognize that when teaching theory, they may well be having to teach students how to think beyond mere recitation of lists and facts. In mass communication theory courses, instructors not only ask students to recognize and comprehend, but also to move on through the higher levels of Bloom's (1956) taxonomy of learning. To reach higher levels of learning, students must apply, analyze, synthesize and evaluate. A mass communication theory class requires students to abstract themselves from something that has been part of their entire lives and to impartially assess media in their culture. Professors also emphasize how they try to encourage students to bring theory to life through the student's own personal experience (Baran & Davis, 1995; Ramsey, 1993).

In effect, students must participate and observe what they study, and as such, they become at least informal participant observers in that they "elicit from people their definitions of reality and the organizing constructs of their world" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, pp. 109-110). This is especially true in classes requiring discussion and/or journal entries. The professor acts as an "arbiter" of these observations, guiding students in helping to understand their field notes and trying to find theory to develop explanations.

To develop critical thinking skills and to obtain a vista into how students creatively define mass media in their own

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lives, students can be assigned to create metaphors of their own relationship with the mass media. The following highlights some of the literature in the field related to critical thinking and teaching methods, describes the application of the metaphor in an undergraduate mass communication theory class, and overviews the results in one particular case.

Literature Review

According to Ruminski and Hanks (1995) in their survey of AEJMC members, most respondents indicated they valued critical thinking skills but lacked consensus as to its definition. The most common element in definitions offered was the inclusion of the word "analysis," with about half the respondents using it. The authors reported a similar lack of agreement as to how to incorporate critical thinking into class and how to evaluate and measure it.

Critical thinking, as taught in some freshman seminar courses, emphasizes the steps of understanding the viewpoint, finding alternate views, evaluating all the alternatives, and constructing "a reasonable" view for an original viewpoint (Ellis, 1991). According to Ellis (1991, p. 184), "This, like composing a song or painting a picture, is a creative act and an exhilarating exercise in critical thinking."

These steps are essentially Dewey's Reflective Thinking process (1933) offered, for example, as a way to enhance critical-thinking skills and, thus, decision-making abilities in a media-planning class (Strohm & Baukus, 1995). The authors felt the application of such thinking abilities in class was imperative to helping students deal with ambiguity, be flexible and adapt to a changing work environment.

"Reflective observation" was one of four experiential steps identified by Ramsey (1993) in a model for instructional design. The model, itself, forwards reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, active experimentation and concrete experience as the steps for more active classroom learning. In an example for a mass communication history course, Ramsey suggests that the Concrete Experience might be reviewing media coverage of a war. The Reflective Observation would follow with student papers discussing media coverage of global conflicts. A subsequent lecture and class discussion developing public reactions to global discussion helps students develop Abstract Conceptualization, while students then follow up with reaction papers applying class concepts to a more recent global conflict in the Active Experimentation step.

Such experiential activities have been incorporated into mass communication classes, such as Dardenne's (1994) description of "Student Musings on Life Without Mass Media." Based on diary reports from students in several mass communication classes, he identified key themes elicited such as companionship, easing routine tasks, addiction, antidote to silence, alternative activities, fear of thought and resolutions. And in a survey of public relations educators, nearly every respondent indicated he or she very often incorporated active learning exercises in the classroom (Lubbers & Gorcyca, 1996).

Based on this forgoing discussion, critical thinking has been tied to analysis, reflective thinking and experiential assignments. These also highlight the creative element of critical thinking, brought up indirectly by Ruminski and Hanks (1995) in their discussion of critical thinking involving openness to new ideas. Creative thinking and critical thinking are inextricable as is evident in Johnson's and Hackman's (1995, p. 15) definition of creativity: "human (symbolic) communication which generates new and relevant combinations or associations of existing elements (materials, words, ideas, facts, sounds, movements, colors, lines, mathematical notations, procedures, etc.) through lateral (divergent) thinking."

Often times, answers to problems can be found by thinking "illogically" or, rather, analogically (von Oech, 1990). Land (1995, p. 54) wrote, "Analogies are like various lenses through which to view reality as one views the world through tinted eyeglasses at one moment, then through binoculars at another; or through a prism that fractures the image into tiny pieces." According to Koch & Deetz (1981, p. 13), the utility of the metaphor is that for participants, it "... allows the familiar everyday conceptions to become unfamiliar, to become the object of explicit consideration and discussion." Creating metaphors, then, is a process of creative expression intricately tied to critical thinking or reflection in that it allows one to frame or reframe problems or to structure one's experience. Mumby & Spitzack (1983, p. 165) related, "Providing systematicity to experience and language, metaphor gives structure to the lived-world of the everyday actor."

Metaphors have been incorporated by many to understand personal relationships (Owen, 1985) or the social reality of organizations (Koch & Deetz,, 1981). They have also been a tool for understanding mass communication such as in "Ideology and Television News: A Metaphoric Analysis of Political Stories" (Mumby & Spitzack, 1983) and in "Media Metaphors: Two Models for Rhetorically Criticizing the Political Television Spot Advertisement" (Larson, 1982).

Using metaphors in the class can offer the opportunity to see how students view their world as the metaphor provides another tool to understand how students construct relationships with the media and participate in the mass communication process. Analogies have been applied in a variety of classes. Land (1995) specifically used synectics modeling to stimulate creativity in feature writing. Rowden (1988) described the use of a poster paper as a means by which to present metaphor in a semantics class. The poster paper idea is the basis for the following description of the metaphor as a way of personalizing mass communication theory for students, while also making the familiar, unfamiliar.

Classroom Method

Students in an undergraduate mass communication theory course submitted weekly journal entries requiring reflection on class discussions and their own related observations of media performance and media use. The final journal entry was doubled in value and required the creation and development of an analogy representing the student's relationship to the media, and a demonstration of the analogy's relationship to one of the theories or concepts discussed during the quarter. Students were advised to review their journal entries as well as class notes. Directions, according to the syllabus, were:

> At the end of the quarter, you will put together a representation of your relationship with the media on a poster board, submitted with a one-page interpretation. These will be presented to the class as well. The representation should visually present a metaphor for your life as it relates to and is influenced by the media. The verbal description should tie in some theoretical principle which we've discussed during the quarter.

The final, analogical journal entry is a one- to two-page description of the analogy and accompanying it is a classroom poster paper presentation. The poster paper presentations generate a peer question-and-answer session as well as student observations of similarities to their own constructions. All students in this particular case were majors within the department offering the class. Some choose the course as an elective, while the others select it out of a set of theory-based courses. Majors represented in the class are broadcasting, journalism, public relations, and speech communication. Most of the students plan on practicing in a media-related profession. The class is a senior-level course with an Introduction to Mass Communication prerequisite.

Students appear to embrace this particular assignment. In part it serves as closure for the term as it asks them to reconstruct and personalize some of what they have learned. Furthermore, it provides some review for the class prior to a cumulative, essay final exam.

As with most class assignments, some students obviously put greater thought and time into the assignment. While a couple students did not seem to understand that they should develop a metaphor, many constructed extensive analogies. For example, one presented the media as a refrigerator -- the contents of which were designated to represent different media, and uses and gratifications.

Results

The analogies themselves offer an interesting window into the student mindset. While the metaphors elucidated each student's perception of his or her individual relationship with the media, they also reflected, for two different classes, some similar viewpoints. Thematic analysis, as recommended for subsequent interpretation of metaphors (Owen, 1985), provides a

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descriptive framework for the student-media metaphors. Thus, the analogies are categorized as follows to represent themes from the 33 students taking the course during two different academic years (1996-97 and 1994-95). The themes identified are offered for descriptive purposes and for possible application as a base for discussion in future classes. Eleven key themes emerged from an analysis of the student papers describing their metaphors.

Titles for key themes were drawn either from the student descriptions themselves or from the common thread. The two analogical themes predominating were defined as Basic Needs and Basic Wants. These two categories underscore the fact the students consider the media as critical to their daily existence. Based on earlier journal entries in which some of the students experimented -- unsuccessfully -- with removing various media from their daily lives, these themes were not altogether surprising. Other theme groupings represented a range from the active audience in the Library and the somewhat active audience in Water, to the more passive audience in Powerful Force. These thematic categories and their representative metaphors are described as follows.

Basic Needs

Six of the student references could be included in this category. The category designation was determined by one of the students who specifically identified her relationship with the media as Maslow's Hierarchy of needs. She indicated that media, especially television, were in the basic necessities along with love and family. She furthered her description by saying that for her, "food and television are very interchangeable" and "peak experiences occur with some form of media." She also self disclosed that as a child, her punishment was going without tv for a week or two.

As mentioned earlier, extensive analogies were also developed around the media as refrigerator as well as food. For the student using the refrigerator, fresh fruit is the news while meat and potatoes are his favorite tv show. He added, "All of the spoiled items in the refrigerator remind me of all of the bad television shows that have not been taken off of the air." Another student developed a similar analogy with different meals (full-course, buffets, etc.) for different media "consumption." He wrote,

> The media may be represented as food for the mind in much the same way that groceries are food for the body. Each offers a veritable smorgasbord of sustenance. Life affirming nourishment is available at the tables of each food source. The lack of either would result in atrophy of the body and mind, as each respective case may be.

The coffee analogy highlighted the student's perceived dependency on the media. And the contact analogy presented a similar dependence on the media: just as her contacts are absolutely necessary to see, the media are essential for "insight" in the world.

Basic Wants

Six metaphors were classified in the basic wants category, so designated by the recurrent theme in the student papers that the metaphors (and thus the media) represented what they wanted but did not absolutely need. A car, for example, helps one get around, but one could walk. Chocolate is for instant gratification -- "all flavor and no nutrition. Some of the programs that I watch, such as sitcoms and David Letterman, don't have any real social or information value but they bring a lot of personal enjoyment."

Shoes and gum were two metaphors used to describe objects chosen for a variety of reasons and used until they no longer fill those desires. The two grocery/shopping bag metaphors were included within this category as well because the students focused more on the fact that "the media have more to offer than one needs...."

Library

The Library was a particular metaphor chosen by one student, while others in this theme area included the information-based analogies of a watch and Jack Webb. The library was chosen by a single mother with two children, who opted not to "have media invading my home." Owning only a radio, she actively pursued information by going "outside of my normal daily routine to obtain other media information."

The watch, like the media, "represents how I depend upon a timepiece to stay current," according to one student. He added, "A watch also serves only one purpose: to just give the facts, not extra unwanted information." A similar metaphor in this category draws from television entertainment in the form of Dragnet. The student used Jack Webb because "I'm a 'just the facts ma'am' kind of guy."

Powerful Force

Three students also derived metaphors of the media as a powerful force. These analogies were natural disasters such as tornadoes or hurricanes which, like the media, have "the potential power to make an entire city become chaotic one minute and harmonious the next," according to one student.

Another student presented the media as a boxer constantly punching the audience. Specifically, he identified commercials as the repeated punches: "Like a boxer that takes too many blows to the head and eventually goes down for the count, we as consumers, will eventually fall to the repeated blows of the commercial medium ..., the blows that will eventually consume our will and make us function as one mind, void of any individuality."

The whale metaphor is less directly influential but does present the media which "'overwhelm' the public with large amounts of information."

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Entertainment Center

Focused on the media's entertainment orientation were three metaphors. Entertainment Center analogies included the more formal ones, both selected by broadcast majors, of Disney World or a circus. The more informal analogy was "a room filled with people of many different cultural backgrounds," chosen by a public relations major.

The Disney metaphor highlighted her active processing of media from a critical application perspective: "Generally, I feel that the media is like a big Disney World where everybody works hard in order to find what the audience likes...."

In the circus, an extensive metaphor, the big top is the brain while the different animals represent different media:

> The lion represents television. It is the most aggressive medium and comes into my home with a roar. The newspapers are represented by a bear. They are less aggressive and newspapers try to be all-encompassing like a "bear hug." The monkey represents radio because this medium is all auditory with music and talk like a monkey's chatter. The hippopotamus represents magazines because I see this as a submerged medium. It is quiet and unassuming and kind of in the background. The giraffes depict books. Books are long-reaching because they are kept over an extended period of time and can be read over and over again.

My Media, Myself

Two students applied the analogy concept a little differently in using media to represent their lives. One student called himself a radio head. He wrote, "The radio can create moods in people just as well as I can. The radio also has a volume control, and according to my girlfriend, so do I ...." Another student related her life to television and its commercials because she felt she endured constant interruptions.

Reflections

Two students created metaphors related to reflections in the literal form of a mirror and in the subconscious form of dream makers. The former focused on the reflections of culture and society evident, while the latter highlighted reflections of her modeling herself (hair styles, fashion, etc.) after media characters.

Water

A little different from reflections were water-based metaphors in which the students emphasized more active choices. In the swimming pool analogy one could wade or submerse oneself. She further used her metaphor to predict that "technology ... is going to cause all of us to become submerged." In the sponge metaphor, the student presented herself as a broadcast news reporter functioning as a sponge, "absorbing information and filtering out information."

Objects

Two metaphors were classified as objects as they did not really fit into other categories. One is the media tree complete with media branches and seasonal changes which she correlated with changes in technology. The other was golf in that two or three good shots (or shows) can make "the whole game worth the while."

Addiction

Only one metaphor specifically addressed the media relationship as an addiction, something stronger than a dependency. The student characterized her relationships with the media as an addiction to drugs: "I cannot go without television, which is sad to say."

Other

The remaining students focused on either a theory or their careers in mass communication and did not specifically create and develop any analogy. One, for example, was Sports Around the Clock to describe her career aspirations. Only one student applied more than one metaphor to describe his media relationships.

In addition to the metaphors, students were supposed to tie their metaphor into a particular theory or mass communication concept discussed during the term. As is apparent with so many metaphors described as Basic Needs or Basic Wants, most students (just over one third) related their metaphors to Uses and Gratifications. Other theories mentioned in association with the metaphors were symbolic interactionism, modeling theory, socialization, play theory, limited effects and selective influences.

Conclusions

The metaphor as a way of characterizing the student's relationship with the media provides the professor with a means by which to evaluate the student's impression of media and mass communication theory. By reviewing the types of metaphors and the theories and concepts applied to the metaphors, a professor can furthermore evaluate the class in terms of what the students determine to be most important as reflected in this assignment. Variations from term to term might well be noted with particular world events discussed in class as well as by different texts.

In this application, undergraduate mass communication theory students in this case more readily grasped the concept of uses and gratifications although only two days were spent in class reviewing it. Perhaps because it is easily individualized and/or perhaps because the directions of developing a metaphor to represent their relations with the media, students responded by relating Uses and Gratifications to their metaphors.

As is evident, student metaphors reflected application of both critical and creative thinking skills. In the future, the poster paper presentations will be followed by having the students apply the categories reviewed above to their own class metaphors and to analyze the results. Questions for discussion would include: How does Maslow's Hierarchy reflect the metaphors? Do the metaphors and themes present the audience as active or passive, and what does this suggest about the student's mass communication assumptions? Which effects models are at play in the different models? And can the media, themselves, be used as metaphors to characterize mass communication (i.e., Jack Webb, Disney)? The process of assessing, critically thinking, about the resulting metaphors would complete the active learning cycle (Ramsey, 1993) and in so doing, further personalize mass communication theory for the students.

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